

**THE USE OF VISUAL ART FOR COMMUNITY  
DEVELOPMENT WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO  
KAYAMANDI, STELLENBOSCH**

**by**

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Promoters: Prof. S. Bekker and Mr. V. Honey

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## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:



## **ABSTRACT**

The central theme of this thesis is to establish the use of visual art for community development. This is done within the context of South Africa in Kayamandi, a Black Township near Stellenbosch. This example has been chosen because one of South Africa's major developmental challenges lies in Black Townships, due to the previous government's negligence toward these areas.

Since the thesis focuses on a Black Township, the history of Black visual art during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, under colonial and postcolonial regimes is analysed. Subsequently, the notion of community development and how visual art contributes to development is outlined. The important role that community arts and community arts centres play in the contribution of visual art to community development is also defined. To this end qualitative and quantitative research has been conducted in Kayamandi. Artists, visual art groups and possible community arts centres were identified.

By way of the Kayamandi study, it is understood that visual art is an established practice in Kayamandi. Under specified circumstances, visual art practice in Kayamandi does lead to community development. The establishment of a community arts centre could further increase people's use of visual art for community development.

## OPSOMMING

Die sentrale doel van die tesis is om die gebruik van visuele kuns vir gemeenskapsontwikkeling vas te stel. Dit word vasgestel binne die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks met spesifieke verwysing na Kayamandi, 'n Swart woonbuurt naby Stellenbosch. Dié gemeenskap is gekies omdat Swart woonbuurte een van Suid-Afrika se grootste ontwikkelingsuitdagings vergestalt. Dié uitdaging is die gevolg van nalatigheid van die vorige apartheidsregering ten opsigte van die gebiede.

Die geskiedenis van Swart visuele kuns gedurende die 20ste eeu tydens die koloniale en postkoloniale regimes word ondersoek. Gevolglik word gemeenskapsontwikkeling en hoe visuele kuns daartoe bydra uiteengesit en bespreek. Verder word die belangrikheid van gemeenskapskuns en –kunssentrums én hul bydrae tot visuele kuns vir gemeenskapsontwikkeling gedefiniëer. Vir dié doel is kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe navorsing in die verband in Kayamandi gedoen. Kunstenaars, visuele kuns groepe en moontlike gemeenskapskunssentrums is ge-identifiseer.

Die Kayamandi studie bewys dat visuele kuns 'n gevestigde praktyk in Kayamandi is. In gespesifiseerde omstandighede dra visuele kuns wel tot gemeenskapsontwikkeling in Kayamandi by. Die ontwikkeling van 'n gemeenskapskunssentrum in Kayamandi sal die inwoners se gebruik van visuele kuns vir gemeenskapsontwikkeling vergroot.

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## INTRODUCTION

One of South Africa's main developmental challenges today is the lack of development in Black Townships, because of the previous government's negligence toward these areas. Therefore Kayamandi has been chosen as an example through which to explore the use of visual art for development.

In 1942, Kayamandi became Stellenbosch's official Black Township, with a few brick houses and a hostel for Black men. These men migrated from rural to urban areas in search of employment. Kayamandi is underdeveloped relative to other areas in Stellenbosch. It is a township without a shopping complex, recreation place for the youth, park, formal taxi rank, or a community centre, to mention a few. Kayamandi's residents have been a part of the Black South Africans'<sup>1</sup> struggle for freedom against apartheid. Social development was non-existent as people were not allowed to run businesses or group politically (Eland 2000: 1). One of the biggest needs is motivation and to build up the self-confidence of the people.

Kayamandi, being a Black South African township, was affected by colonialism<sup>2</sup>. Colonisation also affected the development of Black South African visual art. Colonist's approach to African art was ethnocentric<sup>3</sup>. They disregarded the development of Black South African art, dismissing it as anthropological information and giving it labels other than art. Colonisation in South Africa was dominated by Westerners<sup>4</sup>, therefore Black South African artists<sup>5</sup> had to learn visual art through Western norms. After South Africa was declared a democratic state in 1994, the old constitution was re-evaluated and most of South African history has since been rewritten. Political sanctions were lifted from South Africa when apartheid was demolished.

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<sup>1</sup> "Black" man or woman, "Black South African" and "African" is used throughout the thesis and refers to the non-White, non-Coloured and non-Indian race in South Africa, whose traditional mother tongues are one of the Bantu languages of the Republic. An "African" would not normally be confined to South Africa, but rather to the African continent in general, but in this dissertation only art from Southern Africa (South of the Sahara) is included. Whenever a particular race is referred to it is capitalised, as it refers to culture not colour. This dissertation also assumes that White South Africans are of European descent and therefore European and White is used interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> Colonialism is the "policy and practice of a power in extending control over weaker peoples or areas" (McLeod 1985: 219). In the case of South Africa, Western (explained in footnote 6) society colonised South Africa.

<sup>3</sup> Ethnocentrism is "viewing other people and ways of life in terms of one's own cultural assumptions, customs, and values" (Keesing 1976: 555). Keesing uses an image of glasses to explain the meaning of ethnocentrism. He explains that we all have our own culture that we are normally not aware of, and "to view other peoples' ways of life in terms of our own cultural glasses is called *ethnocentrism*" (1976: 139). Inevitably the result of being ethnocentric is to view other people's behaviour and culture as "strange or wrong" (Keesing 1976: 139). Unfortunately, according to Keesing, it is not possible to remove our glasses, but becoming aware of "our prescription" (1976: 139) is a good start. Viewing other's behaviour, whilst aware of one's own, can help one to recognise why one assumes 'the other' as peculiar or adverse.

<sup>4</sup> Western society refers to the developed first world countries like the United States, the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

<sup>5</sup> The term "artists", in this thesis, is used broadly and refers to any person who practices and makes art.



Consequently there is a new international interest in South Africa. In many ways this new interest reinstated colonial dominance over Black South African visual art and the way it was termed and produced.

Due to these circumstances, development in the New South Africa needs to follow a different route. Development, according to Serageldin, should "be refocused on two intertwined sectors of change" *promotion of cultural identity and empowerment of the people*" (1994: 19). Development should be culturally relative<sup>6</sup> in order to empower individuals. If development is to take place in a Black Township like Kayamandi, it should promote community development values. Community development promotes human as well as economic development. It focuses on the need for participation that results in the inclusion of the community's ideas and culture; this in turn empowers the community to develop.

The need for community development in the townships has long been accepted, since the permanence of these communities was acknowledged by authorities in the early eighties. Perhaps we should rather speak of community empowerment, in the sense of enabling the people to acquire the competencies to determine their own future, and therefore to accept the responsibility for it. As participation in the arts tends to improve self-assertiveness and other skills, the relationship of art and community empowerment should be clear without further argument (Van der Waal 1990: 28).

Visual art<sup>7</sup> can be used as a developmental tool in previously disadvantaged urban Black Townships like Kayamandi. Visual art has a holistic approach to promoting development. Not only does it contribute to the economic well-being of a community by creating jobs, but it also aids social and cultural development. However, it should not be ethnocentric and should encourage the use of African culture in visual art making in order to empower people. Visual art should be used according to community development principles or else it could be at risk of exploiting people, as colonisation has.

Community arts and community arts centres play an important role in the contribution of visual art to community development. Visual art and community development principles should combine and be operative in community arts and community arts centres. The availability of an arts centre in Kayamandi could result in an increased use of visual art for development.

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<sup>6</sup> Today a postmodern form of development, promoted by anthropologists, is called cultural relativism. "Cultural relativism ...insists upon recognising the inner logic of different societies. The world is thus presented as culturally diverse and composed of many different realities" (Gardner 1996: 23).

<sup>7</sup> The term 'visual art' refers to the arts that are made by the hand. This includes painting, drawing, sculpting, graphic art, textile art and photography. This also includes what is commonly known as 'craft' such as pottery, jewellery making (including bead work), paper making, leather work, furniture making, sewing, knitting, weaving, bookbinding, glasswork, metalwork, lettering and so forth (Republic of South Africa 1984: 37). Visual art does not include the literary arts, music and performing arts. In this thesis, wherever art is mentioned it includes visual art, performing art, music and the literary arts. It was not possible, in some discussions in the thesis, to extract visual art from art. It is therefore important that the reader keeps in mind that art includes visual art of which the primary concern is visual art.



No research has been done on Kayamandi's art practice. In order to establish whether residents in Kayamandi practise visual art and whether visual art contributes to the development of Kayamandi, research was conducted in Kayamandi from 2000 to 2002. Six focus groups<sup>8</sup> were conducted in order to identify artists and visual art groups in Kayamandi. Then a survey<sup>9</sup> consisting of two questionnaires was presented to the identified artists.

The structure of this thesis can best be clarified in three sections. The first section, Chapter 1, is a brief historical overview of Black South African visual art from the early 1900's under colonial and post colonial regimes. The historical comparison should be helpful in determining a better developmental path for today. This chapter therefore testifies to the need for empowerment in development. Also included is a further clarification of visual art and why craft is included in visual arts.

The following section covers a literary examination of the use of visual art for community development, while the last section can be seen as the practical observation. The literary section is divided into three chapters, Chapter 2, 3 and 4. Chapter 2 discusses community and human development principles. Community development is being promoted as the ideal form of development, because it promotes human development and culturally relative development, which is necessary for empowerment.

Not only does the developer need to have a refined approach to development, emphasising cultural empowerment, but the developer can also use visual art to this end. Chapter 3 discusses issues like the use of visual art to promote culture, as a communicative tool, in order to improve the environment, create jobs, simulate an employment atmosphere, enrich education and improve mental health. Chapter 3 also discusses *how* the production of visual art contributes to human and community development.

Empowering the community through the use of visual art has commonly become known as community arts. Previously art institutions were not easily accessible to Black South African artists. Community arts emphasises the availability and accessibility of art to, especially, previously disadvantaged groups. These normally take place in community arts centres. This

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<sup>8</sup> A focus group is defined as "a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain perceptions on a defined area of interest in a permissive non-threatening environment" (Krueger quoted by Hall 1996: 159). A number of questions, called probes, are selected to encourage the group in the discussion. A facilitator or moderator often conducts the group discussion.

<sup>9</sup> The survey, in this case, consists of questionnaires. The purpose of which is to "generate information in a systematic fashion...and recording...in a methodical way. This method is reliable because it reduces and eliminates differences" (Hall 1996: 97).

is discussed in Chapter 4. Community arts centres and community arts are considered to be the same thing, with the same goals, only one refers to a building.

The final section, Chapter 5 takes a practical look at the use of visual art for community development. This chapter aims to outline what is currently happening in Kayamandi as far as visual art and artists are concerned. Chapter 6 outlines the use of visual art for development in Kayamandi. Firstly, residents and artists' opinions about whether or not visual art contributes to development are outlined. Then a criticism about the current contribution of visual art practise to development in Kayamandi is presented. Finally, recommendations to improve the use of visual art for development in Kayamandi are given.

Appendices and Illustrations are presented at the end of the thesis, after the conclusive chapter.



## CHAPTER 1

### **A Brief Historical Overview on Black South African Visual Art from the Early 1900's under Colonial and Post Colonial Influence**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

Colonisation affected the development of Black South African visual art, with the result that it had very little room to develop on its own, even though colonialists professed to keep it free from outside influence because Black indigenous art was in great demand in Europe from the early nineteen hundreds. At first the process of acculturation between the African and Western society seemed harmless, compared to subjugation, but because Western society was dominant and African society was considered backward, Black South African visual art was overwhelmed and began to lose its authenticity. In some instances in the early nineteen hundreds, it was not possible to discern the difference between Black and European visual art. Although this is only discussed in terms of visual art in this chapter, this assimilation of the Black culture happened on all levels at the expense of the development of African culture.

Keessing states that 'acculturation' is too subtle a term to use for what the Third World experienced from the West.

They see the Westernization of the Third World not simply as 'culture change' or 'acculturation,' but as subjugation of hundreds of peoples into a worldwide capitalist system of exploitation – as sources of cheap labor, raw materials, and markets. The transformation of tribal societies caught up in this system has not simply been a matter of peoples acquiring new hardware and new ideas and beginning to participate in a world economy. Western domination, old and new, has hammered Third World peoples into a common mold... Pride and identity have been broken (1976: 428).

The acculturation of Black South Africans may have seemed unintentional, but the deliberate exploitation and subjugation of Black South Africans became official from 1948 when South Africa declared itself to be an apartheid nation<sup>10</sup>. Black Artists were denied access to most formal institutions. Many were imprisoned for portraying political scenes in their art, while the government perpetuated the illusion of a "benign enlightenment, a Garden of Eden" (Sack 1989: 76) by promoting non-controversial Black visual art abroad, depicting landscapes, wildlife and native studies.

In 1994, when South Africa was declared a democratic state, it was the state's intention to terminate colonial rule and promote culturally relative development. The old constitution had

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<sup>10</sup> In 1948 the National Party won the whites-only elections and initiated, legislated and enforced the practice of apartheid (Panoramas 1995:102).



to be re-evaluated and most of South African history had to be rewritten. This left artists free to depict whatever they wished; many were encouraged to depict the political scenes of horror that they were previously ostracised for. With the lifting of international sanctions, due to the abolishment of apartheid, South Africa experienced a surge of international interest in Black South African visual art. In many ways this new interest had adverse effects on Black South African visual art, similar to those experienced before the new South Africa. Issues such as whether internationalisation reinstates Western criticism of African visual art, and the effect of tourism and the market due to international interest in visual art will be discussed in the final part of this chapter.

The aim of this chapter is to give a brief overview of the development of Black South African visual art, under colonial and post colonial influence from the early nineteen hundreds till the present. This is presented in chronological order. The chapter can be divided into four parts. The first part defines the origins of colonial dominance by labeling Black South African visual art in order to disregard it as art. This section clarifies why craft is included under visual art.

In the second part of this chapter the European influence on Black South African artists from the early nineteen hundreds to the 1950's will be outlined. A discussion on three Black South African artists is included here.

Thirdly, an outline on apartheid's influence on Black South African visual art is discussed. Apartheid hampered the development of Black South African visual art, but it also demanded that artists react to apartheid by depicting its unease; three examples of Black South African artists show this.

The final section discusses international influence on the Black South African visual art of the new South Africa.

## **1.2 CLASSIFICATION OF BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN VISUAL ART: VISUAL ART VERSUS CRAFT**

Westerner's ethnocentric approach to African visual art resulted in it being defined in Western terms. These terms became the norm in a Western dominated society. This ethnocentric approach is questioned by discussing why these labels were being used. A further look at the origins of visual art and why it is inappropriate to define African visual art through Western ideology will also be discussed.



There was very little historical recognition of African visual art, at least not until the eighteenth century when colonialists began to carry African masks and other objects back to Europe<sup>11</sup>; even then they were not admired for their aesthetic qualities but were studied for clues about African life and thought. Nettleton substantiates this by stating that, "the scholarly study of the artistic productions of indigenous peoples of South Africa<sup>12</sup> is extraordinarily recent" (1989: 7). Wassing states that the idea of 'art' is a "Western idea developed in the mental climate of Western philosophy and applied to the expression of Western culture<sup>13</sup>" (1968: 5). She adds that whenever Black African visual art was described in terms of Western ideology, terms like 'primitive' and 'naive' were used "as if European visual art were unquestionably on a more sophisticated, later and higher cultural level" (1968: 5). Vansina adds that,

Western aesthetic criticism of African art is largely irrelevant because it is an expression of Western culture about what to them are *objets trouvés* ...Pronouncement about 'good art' and 'bad art' reflect Western preferences to the extent that some anthropologists have claimed that 'African art' does not exist at all. It is but the study of Western sensitivity towards African objects (1984:130).

Consequently, one of the main reasons why there was no documentation of African visual art as art was because in the Western mind, African visual art did not exist. They were considered to be African objects instead.

In the nineteen thirties and forties the annual South African Academy had the following sections for entrants: painting, sculpture, crafts, native exhibits and architecture (Miles 1997: 55). Black artists always had their art displayed in the Native and Craft section, but never in the painting or sculpture section. This segregation through labeling was perpetuated during the apartheid era, when racial discrimination was enforced by the "legislation of identity which centered around the classification of race" (Charlton 1999a: 1). Black visual art in South Africa was dismissed as 'craft' and given other labels like 'traditional art', 'primitive art', 'naive art', 'ethnic art', 'township art', and 'indigenous art'. Black artists like Bongi Dhlomo have publicly expressed their resentment at constantly finding themselves 'labeled, checked, re-labeled and re-checked' (Marschall 1999: 2). In South Africa these evasive terms were "readily incorporated into the apartheid policy" (Charlton 1999b: 2).

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<sup>11</sup> "Objects, collected at random on the spot by sailors, merchants, missionaries and officials, were regarded as curiosities useful for entertaining friends and acquaintances. Sometimes the pieces were bought by collectors and housed in 'cabinets de curiosités'. Beside other fine specimens... Many of these private collections have ended up in museums, where, once their value was realized, they laid the foundations of ethnographical collections that are invaluable today, not only as art-objects but as material for research on African man and his culture" (Wassing 1968: 6).

<sup>12</sup> Historically speaking, Black African visual art of South Africa was compared to the general African art of Western Africa (Nettleton 1989: 8).

<sup>13</sup> This is not to say that there are no parallels between non-Western and Western visual art.



Looking through the veil of Western thought, the border between visual art and craft in African visual art is very obscured. The Western perception of visual art refers to non-functional hand-made objects that are not necessarily made for consumption, but rather for aesthetics or beauty. Craft, in the Westerner's understanding, is also used as a reference to hand-made objects, but they are predominantly functional and aesthetics play a subordinate role. Conway draws an interesting metaphoric distinction between visual art and craft. She states that it is "art for life's sake" (craft) "versus 'art for art's sake'" (art) or "the morality of craft versus the aesthetics of decoration" (1990: 10).

### **1.2.1 The Origin of the Distinction between Visual Art and Craft**

The distinction between visual art and craft arose in Europe as a result of humanist notions of the individual as artistic 'genius' during the Renaissance (Nettelton 1989: 8). Today, artists like Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo de Vinci are still considered artistic geniuses. Before that, in medieval Europe, there was no distinction between visual art and craft. Painters were referred to as 'apothecaries' (an archaic term for a pharmacist) because of their ability to mix pigments, while sculptors were classified as stonemasons. In England the word 'art' was first used in 1668 to describe painting and sculpture. 'Craftsmen' was used about 200 years later, in 1876 and referred to "one who practised 'handicraft'" (Nettelton 1989: 8). The term 'craftsmen' was concerned with the skill with whatever you did and so, "until the late nineteenth century, all European artists might be expected to be good craftsman, but not all good craftsmen, and practically no craftswoman, were considered to be artists" (Nettelton 1989: 9).

### **1.2.2 More Distinctions: High and Low Art and Fading Boundaries in Visual Art**

A further distinction in Western tradition occurred after the division between visual art and craft: a distinction between high art and low art. High art was considered the only visual art and served the cultural elite, while all other forms of visual art were classified as low art. High art is generally defined by the fact that it is institutionalised, in other words we find it in galleries and museums. Barzun gives a comprehensive description of high art:

Before the public can understand, let alone enjoy, such delicate, sophisticated art, a technician with a practiced sensibility – that is to say, another artist – must explain the work, demonstrate its meaning and value by taking it apart. Only through a guided tour of its intricacies can its form and intention become clear (1997: 14).

Low art is not 'aesthetically legitimate' in that it does not contain the aesthetic value that "reside essentially in qualities of the art object that cannot be related to function or utility, and to appeal to the viewer's finer sensibilities, rather than to his gross emotions" (Nettelton 1989:



10). Low art requires an instant emotional reaction and is easily accessible - it does not require you to understand its history and form, neither does it pretend to be anything else than what you see it to be. Here craft is categorised as low art because it is associated with objects of use, while visual art or high art is associated with non-utilitarian products.

This distinction is carried right into the modernist era, however, it was in this era that the boundaries began to fade, and African visual art was accepted as 'art':

Since the rise of the Arts and Crafts movement in the mid-eighteenth century England, with its promotion of the 'beauty' of the hand-crafted (as opposed to machine-produced) object, and the emergence of a functionalist aesthetic with the Bauhaus and *de Stijl* in Europe in the 1920s, attitudes to the exclusive claims of aesthetic qualities made for fine arts have shifted significantly. With this came an accompanying shift from the fundamental centrality of naturalistic representation in Western artistic theory itself. It was these developments in modern Western art that paved the way for the acceptance in the West, of African-crafted objects as 'art', and the subsequent attempts to define African aesthetic (Nettleton 1989: 11).

According to Wassing, it was European artists like Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, and Henri Matisse and other Fauvists who first gave African objects their aesthetic recognition<sup>14</sup>. Another example of these blurred boundaries between high and low art is evident in the Pop Art<sup>15</sup> movement where everyday 'functional objects' with no apparent aesthetic value were used as *objets d'art*. Here the everyday object that is chosen becomes a work of art because the artist says so. Andy Warhol in 1962 took a simple, everyday object like the image of a Coca Cola bottle, printed it several times, placed it in a gallery and named it *Green Coca-Cola Bottles* (Illustration 1.1). Prior to the Pop art movement, Marcel Duchamp took a urinal and displayed it in a gallery from a different angle<sup>16</sup> (Illustration 1.2). Whether or not these works are art (which is presumably the kind of question that the artists wanted to raise), one cannot deny that it has made it into the Art History books of Western civilization.

Today we live in the post-modern era, meaning in this context, that boundaries are aggressively challenged, and less distinct between high and low art. Artists are now free to borrow from any form of art and era that is relevant to their design. It is in this era that craft makes its way into the galleries. Artists use crafts like sewing, furniture making or woodwork,

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<sup>14</sup> "Working at the close of the Belle Époque and forming the avant garde of the twentieth century in their search for new forms of expression,"...they..."were the first to raise African sculpture from anonymity and to recognize it as art. They were, however, ignorant of their actual functions and were using the objects as confirmation of their rebellion against Western norms on naturalism" (Wassing 1968: 7).

<sup>15</sup> Pop art, which took place in the mid-1950's, took its inspiration from the contemporary way of life, such as film, comic and household objects and events.

<sup>16</sup> "In February 1917, Duchamp sent a urinal to an exhibition organised by the society of Independent Artists, Inc., at the Grand Central Gallery, New York. The idea occurred to him in the course of a conversation with Aensberg and Joseph Stella, and they immediately went out to buy the item. All Duchamp did to it was to modify the angle of perception of this object by cleaning and signing it R. Mutt 1917 on the upper right side so that, for the signature to be read, the item had to be laid flat instead of standing upright in its usual position" (Schwarz 1969: 466).



patchwork and so forth in their work. Patricia Davison, for example, illustrates that Ndebele Bead work, normally viewed as a craft, is growing in its recognition as visual art. This, she says, "is attested by its being exhibited in art galleries, sold by art dealers and bought by collectors both locally and abroad. Once labeled as "art" by the connoisseurs, this categorisation is sanctioned, reinforced and perpetuated, resulting in a more general *de facto* acceptance that Ndebele bead work is indeed 'art'" (Davison 1985: 18)

With all these boundaries falling away visual art could therefore be almost anything you would want it to be; even the page you are looking at could be an art piece. Or perhaps the clothing that you are wearing: In a more recent work by Yinka Shibore, a Yoruba artist born in London, called *Five Undergarments and Much more, 1995 (Illustration 1.3)*, the viewer is presented with five African Traditional dresses made with fabric produced in Manchester for the African market. This work is installed in the Stephen Friedman Gallery in London and challenges the viewer about whether it is 'art' or 'craft', 'African' or 'European'?

### 1.2.3 Africa's Perspective on Visual Art

Historically, in most African societies, there was no term equivalent to 'art' and the notion of a specialist artist as individual 'genius' was unknown (Nettleton 1989:9). In a discussion with a lecturer, who teaches Xhosa at the University of Stellenbosch and stays in Kayamandi, about the origin of the Xhosa term for visual art, it was evident that in the Xhosa culture there is no distinction between high art, low art or craft. The Xhosa term "Ubuchule" is often used to define art and this term, being a verb, refers to the skill of making whatever it is that is being made. It is also used to describe an artist as a skillful person. The Xhosa term "Ubugcisa" is the most popular word used for art and refers to one's skill. Some people who are aware of the Westerners distinction between visual art and craft use the term "Ubugcisa Benzandla" which means "the art of the hands" to refer to craft. However, *The Great Xhosa Dictionary* (the most traditionally accurate dictionary) defines the word "Craft" as "Ubugcisa", meaning "the art of the hands".

As part of the research conducted in Kayamandi residents and artists were asked whether they felt there is a difference between visual art and craft<sup>17</sup>. Respondents replied that they do not see a difference between visual art and craft, because both are made by hand. They said that no matter what you want to make you would use your hands (WFG).

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<sup>17</sup> See Appendix 1 for details on the methodology used to obtain this information.



If a craft is an object of use while visual art is non-functional, then African visual art will have to be both. An aesthetic sense is evident in every area of African cultural activity, and not just in the ritual objects and sculpture, but also in objects used in everyday life. "These countless objects demonstrate an aesthetic sensibility all the more remarkable for serving the humblest of purpose...All the features which transcend the merely functional and which serve no practical purpose, are evidently intended to satisfy a need for aesthetic pleasure" (Meyer 1995:9).

Generally, in South Africa, people are moving away from discerning between visual art and craft. The Visual Arts Working Group from the Culture and Development Conference held in 1993 also proposed, "the plastic and visual arts be broadly defined so as to erase the distinction between 'fine art' and 'crafts'" (Looking 1995: 61). *The White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage* distinguishes between visual arts and crafts for "convenience only" (White Paper 1996: 16). However, "the view which informs" the "policy is that the visual arts are inclusive of all the forms," that is visual art, craft and design (White Paper 1996: 16). *Wesgro's Background Report on the Craft Industry in the Western Cape* literally combines the two terms defining it as "Craftart", which they describe as follows:

Products that are created entirely by hand by very skilled producers. Items are of high aesthetic value and design is an important component. Production material and processes may be specialized and pieces are produced either as "one-offs" or as very low volumes in studios or collective workshops. These products generally have a significant value-added component and are available at the top end of the market (Heathcock 2000: 2).

### **1.3 EARLY COLONIAL INFLUENCE ON BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN VISUAL ART**

#### **1.3.1 Early 1900's**

The need to keep Black South African visual art uncorrupted from Western influence added to the ideal of keeping Black education "distinct and separate" from White education (Sack 1991: 10). In the 1920's Dr. C. T. Loram was elected as Natal's first Chief Inspector for Native Education. He "coined the phrase that blacks should 'develop along their own lines'" (Sack 1991:11). This explains why many Black artists from this era were denied the right to an artistic education at institutions like Universities.

Every now and then educated whites withheld professional training from talented Africans. Apparently they were attempting to protect the natural talents of their protégés from being spoilt. Their actions corresponded with the romantic view of the 'noble savage' (Miles 1997: 7).



Most Black schools, did not facilitate art education<sup>18</sup>. "Under the Bantu Education Act of 1953, Black schoolchildren learned only those subjects which would prepare them for lowly jobs in the labour market. Even today, few Black schools offer art.

If you, as a Black South African, wanted to further your education as an artist in the mid-nineteen hundreds, you had to rely on existing Black artists to teach you. Another option was to hope that fate would lead you to a charitable White South African who would acknowledge your talent and support you. In such a case European influence on your art was inevitable<sup>19</sup>. This exchange of artistic skills would normally take place in community arts centres<sup>20</sup>.

The Black artist sells to a white public, his [sic] audience is white, his compatriots in the art world are mostly white, his critics are white, those who give him advice are white, and any institution where he can go for training is white-controlled and almost exclusively white-staffed...(Van Robbroeck 1991: 49 quoting Young).

Looking at some examples of Black South African artists in the early nineteenth century, the life and work of the Ntuli brothers and Gerard Bhengu serve as a model for most of the artists from this era who were assisted by White South Africans.

### ***Jabulani and Hezekiel Ntuli***

Jabulani Ntuli (born 1898) made many drawings of Zulu life. While working in Durban in 1943 at a chemist, his employer, Mr Stranack noticed his drawings and showed them to Dr Killie Campbell. Campbell bought all his drawings and in 1947 exhibited his drawings along with other Black artists. The exhibition also included sculptures from Ntuli's brother Hezekiel.

It was evident that Jabulani and Hezekiel's parents did not acknowledge their talent. At a young age Hezekiel would sculpt images of animals out of clay that he dug up at a river. When his mother noticed his ability she "feared that this activity would turn him into a blockhead and to prevent him from making sculptures she burnt his palms and fingertips" (Miles 1997: 38).

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<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that this applied to most, but not all Black schools. Jack Grossert, Inspector of Arts and Crafts for Zulu schools in Natal, for instance, initiated art education in schools in the forties and fifties. This, however, only included bead work, carved wooden spoons or trays and other functional objects. It was later felt that this did not meet the creative needs of the children (Sack 1991: 12).

<sup>19</sup> Killie Campbell, for example, collected Black art as well as commissioned Black artists. Dr Killie Campbell, was an avid collector of Africana. She collected work from British, White South African and Black artists. The Campbell Collections are housed at Muckleneuk, 220 Marriott Road, Berea, Durban (Panoramas 1995: 118). "Her commissions influence the subject matter of the Black artists, as she was concerned with works illustrating Zulu life-style and custom which would supplement her ethnographic collections" (Panoramas 1995: 118).

<sup>20</sup> The role and origins of community arts centres play an important role in the development of Black South African visual art. This is discussed in Chapter 4.



Hezekiel, like Jabulani, owes much of his artistic career to those Europeans who assisted him. Hezekiel left school after he passed Standard Two (Grade 4) and herded his father's cattle. After Hezekiel exhibited some of his sculptures at a show in Zululand and won first prize he was sent to Pietermaritzburg to the Natal University College and worked in the Department of Native Affairs. However, he never studied at an Art department. Mr. W. Stanley Williams met Hezekiel when he was selling some pieces in the street in Pietermaritzburg. He took him into his care to help him continue modeling. He would send Hezekiel to the museum to study the exhibitions. Through Mr Williams, Hezekiel developed his talent and gained access to art materials and participated in exhibitions (Miles 1997: 39).

### **Gerard Bhengu**

When viewing an African scene painted by Jabulani Ntuli, such as *Landscape with Zulu Homesteads (Illustration 1.4)*, one could assume that it looks like it was painted by a Black Artist, but compared to Gerard Bhengu's watercolour landscape *Country Scene with Misty Mountains in Background (Illustration 1.5)*, one is convinced that Jabulani's work has a certain authentic 'Africaness' about it. Gerard Bhengu's work, however, has a very evident European appearance even though his subject matter is African in that he depicted typical African Landscape. His painting style is similar to that of Thomas Baines and Thomas Bowler, English explorers who, after arriving in Africa in the mid-eighteen hundreds, made many paintings of African landscapes and lifestyles. Baines and Bowler's works were, undoubtedly among those exhibited in the national galleries of South Africa during the time that Bhengu was encouraged to copy paintings from Europeans. Bengu's figure paintings and drawings also had a European appearance: "Bengu's style of drawing figures and faces is reminiscent of late 1920's and 1930's Western poster and advertising styles" (Miles 1997: 29).

Gerard Bhengu, born in 1910, left school at the age of fifteen. In the nineteen twenties Bhengu contracted tuberculosis. He paid his doctor, Dr Max Kohler, with artworks<sup>21</sup>. Recognising Bhengu's talent, Kohler encouraged him to "copy reproductions of paintings by European old masters as well as magazine advertisements and commercially reproduced prints" (Miles 1997: 29). Since then Bhengu copied portraits by Edouard Manet, Vincent van Gogh and Leo Samberger. If one compares Bhengu's *Portrait (Illustration 1.6)* to Vincent van Gogh's portrait of a *Peasant Woman (Illustration 1.7)*, Van Goghs influence is very obvious. Dr Kohler also provided Bhengu with paints, brushes and paper. Bhengu owed most of his

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<sup>21</sup> "The hospital's system of payment provided patients without money to barter for medical services" (Miles 1997: 29).



success as an artist to Dr Kohler and, according to Phyllis Savory<sup>22</sup>, “he lost his creative impetus when Dr. Kohler left” (Sack 1991: 11).

In 1934 Dr D. Malcolm helped Bhengu attend the Edendale Training College to learn English while painting, however Malcolm believed he should receive art training. He took some of Bhengu's works to Professor O. J. P. Oxley, head of the department of Fine art at the Natal Technical College at the time, who denied Bhengu any formal art training. He suggested rather that Bhengu “be encouraged to work in his own way and develop his own technique” (Sack 1991: 11).

Bhengu had an exhibition in a department store, where he displayed his work from 1940 to 1959. An article published in the *Ilanga Lase Natal* (2 September 1952) about the exhibition stated, “Those who wanted to, could go inside and see Bhengu at work. This, he tells me, was to convince those Europeans who refused to believe that his work was actually his” (Miles 1997: 30).

### 1.3.2 From the Late Thirties and Forties

In the thirties and forties, there were annual exhibits at the South African Academy in Johannesburg and the South African National Gallery in Cape Town.

The earliest available record of a black participant can be dated to the eleventh annual exhibition which took place in 1930 at the Selborne Hall, Johannesburg. This took the form of a ‘Special Exhibit by Native Artist’, and eight works of Moses Tladi (Tlali) were shown (Sack 1991: 12).

Also at this time the Johannesburg Art Gallery purchased its first work from a Black South African artist, Gerard Sekoto<sup>23</sup>. It was also the last of Black South African art that the gallery purchased for the next 32 years.

Some Black artists “started to stake their claims within urban society” (1997: 55) and managed to compete on artistic levels without any racial differentiation<sup>24</sup>. These Black South African artists enjoyed better opportunities for furthering their artistic skill. This was not without the

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<sup>22</sup> Phyllis Savory knew Bhengu well; she also produced a publication illustrated by him (Sack 1991: 11).

<sup>23</sup> P. Anton (the director of the gallery at that time) purchased *Yellow houses: A street scene in Sophia Town* (1940) - an oil painting.

<sup>24</sup> In 1943, 1946 and 1948 John Koenekkefe Mohl's art was exhibited on equal terms with other South African artists. In 1939 Gerard Sekoto and Moses Tladi's paintings were also included in the painting rather than the native category. In 1944 and 1948 Thomas Masekela's sculptures were not exhibited in the native exhibition, but instead with those of other White South African artists.



assistance of White South Africans, most of whom were artists themselves. When one artist learns from another, regardless of culture or race, his/her tutor will always influence their work. This camaraderie for Ernst Mancoba started in Cape Town in 1935 when he was introduced to Lippy Lipshitz who helped him discover African Sculpture. He was also introduced to Irma Stern and Elza Dziomba who assisted him. In 1942 Gerard Sekoto arrived in Cape Town and also received assistance from Lippy Lipshitz. He also “benefited from professional contact with artists such as Judith Gluckman and Alexis Preller” (Miles 1997: 55). Louise Maurice taught art in the evening at St Phillip’s School in Woodstock, Cape Town. Many Black artists joined and were assisted by Maurice; Peter Clarke for instance attended Life drawing classes. A photograph taken of this class reveals Louis Maurice assisting Clarke with his drawing (*Illustration 1.8*).

Goerge Pemba received guidance from Dorothy Kay and Joan Wright, Dorothy’s daughter. Pemba warmly refers to her saying, “she was like a mother to us all” (George Pemba 1996: 15). Pemba attended an art circle that a group of artists formed with Dorothy Kay. She wrote the following enthusiastic account of such a meeting to her daughter:

The Art Circle met here on Sat[urday] night, and it was a jolly evening – Pemba the Bantu came!!! & his effort “In a mirror” was almost the best of the lot – bar Joan’s & perhaps Bob’s and Agatha’s - and his remarks were all highly cultured and full of sense and vision!! But strange to have him sitting amongst us, & having cake & talking Art!!!! Birds of a feather flock together. I don’t believe they’ll ever flock together between black and white – yellow and white perhaps yes – or yellow and cream!! But jet-black is so different - (Proud 1996: 15).

Pemba also received assistance with his watercolour paintings from Ethel Smyth and Austin Winter Moore. More examples can be found in footnote 25, below<sup>25</sup>. Through these artists, like Ernest Mancoba and Gerard Sekoto, as well as John Koenakeefe Mohl<sup>26</sup>, a foundation for Black art in South Africa had been established in the 1940’s (Sack 1991:15).

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<sup>25</sup> More examples of Black South African artists who received assistance from White South African artists: Moses Tladi profited from his friendship with Herbert Baker and art connoisseur Howard Pim, through whom he received access to galleries and met other professional artists. Thomas Masekela worked closely with other sculptors like Willem de Sanderes Hendrikz and Job Kekana. Simon Lekgetho received instruction from Walter Battiss and Paul Ramagaga was assisted by René Shapshak. Alfred Ewans and Peter Atkins influenced the painting and sculpting of Selby Mvusi. Abraham Mashugane was the first Black South African artist who studied fine art at the University of the Witwatersrand, under the supervision of Cecily Sash and Charles Argent. Wolfgang, Agnes Bodenstein and Keiser impacted Michael Zondi’s work. Rita Ngcobo was assisted by Peter Eliastam and Gladys Mgudlandlu worked under Marjorie Wallace and Gregoire Boonzaier (Miles 1997: 55-56).

<sup>26</sup> Mohl had the greatest influence on the development of Black visual art in South Africa and is known as the ‘father’ of township art. He was the first Black artist to work as a professional fine artist and to offer art classes.



### 1.3.3 Ethnocentric Acculturation

The training that Black artists received from White artists was in the European or Western style. Most Black artists in the early 1900's, voluntarily sought assistance from White artists and hence one would deduce that Westernisation was not forced upon them. Therefore one would have to question whether this type of acculturation could be classified as 'ethnocentric' (and Eurocentric). Training Black artists according to European standards and not considering the Black culture is certainly ethnocentric and Eurocentric. However, there is still the issue of whether or not Black artists had a choice as to what type of education they could have. Where else could they go for training in visual art? Art education was not permitted in all schools and some families did not condone the study of art, as we saw with the Ntuli brothers. Added to this was the fact that Westerners set the trend for visual art. If you wanted to compete in the national art scene, you would have to compete in a Western-dominated world.

Considering all these facts, it would not be incomplete to deduce that Black visual art in South Africa underwent a process of acculturation from Western society, but one would have to add that this process was ethnocentric as well. Hence the process of assimilating Black South African visual art by Western society in the early 1900's was ethnocentric acculturation.

## 1.4 FROM THE 1950'S: THE INFLUENCE OF APARTHEID ON BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN VISUAL ART

The affects of apartheid were evident from the day the Europeans arrived and started to encroach upon Black culture and their environment. But the influence of apartheid tightened considerably from the mid-nineteen hundreds, especially the nineteen seventies. Many aspiring Black artists had a frustrating and difficult time producing visual art and many were detained or imprisoned for political activity<sup>27</sup>. Mongane Wally Serote describes his experience under this suppression:

This, then, is the crucial issue of the struggle for liberation in South Africa. White South Africans lived their lives in South Africa certain that they had the right to power; they used this to make certain that their black fellow country people lived their lives certain that it was their right to be powerless. Unnatural and abnormal as this is, it has been the basis for black and white relations, co-existing and as intimate to each other as a powerful hand is to the throat it is about to throttle (Serote 1998: 14).

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<sup>27</sup> For Example Lionel Davis, Winston Saoli, Dumile Feni, Gavin Jantjes and Louise Maqhebela.



At the time there were strong political debates confronting Black artists: "How to address the role of the artist in terms of his or her social responsibility; questions of accountability; and the constant problem of how to overcome the alienation of the Black artist from his or her own community" (Sack 1991: 18). These were issues that Black artists had to take responsibility for.

Many Black artists tended to produce "carefully non-confrontational work – scenes of a jostling township life or traditional rural vistas" (Williamson 1989: 8) as we saw in the works of Jabulani Ntuli and Gerard Bhengu. Then we saw a change when artists like John Koenekhefe Mohl, Gerard Sekoto and Moses Tladi's works were exhibited in the same category as other White artists. But this change was not enough; being able to compete, artistically, on the same level as a White artist, was one thing, but gathering the courage to challenge apartheid injustice through visual art was another. In 1984 Thamsanqa Mnyele wrote:

I have often been asked why, in South Africa, when ... whole communities suffer dismemberment through forced removals, when the majority of the people are declared foreigners in the country of their birth, when people are crudely and ruthlessly suppressed through rushed pieces of legislation, detentions, the massacre of workers and students; when therefore whole communities resist this genocide through organising themselves into civic organisations, trade unions, women's and student organisations, there has been disturbingly little visual arts output in the country or abroad which is organically related to these community efforts. Nor has there been a groundedly political voice from this quarter, let alone a broad art movement with an obvious national commitment. Such is the extent of the concern (Williamson 1989: 8).

Mnyele was killed the next year in a cross-border raid by South African soldiers.

The state restricted cultural development: "...culture was carefully monitored and made available selectively so as to prevent the 'conscientization' of masses...The state has constantly intervened in this process...and there has been censorship and control continually on the distribution of critical or 'protest' art. Cultural venues are controlled so as to prevent the free flow of cultural ideas and to monitor the accessibility of liberatory visual ideology" (Sack 1989: 75). Due to this there were very few people who, before apartheid was banned, believed Black 'political' or 'protest'<sup>28</sup> art in South Africa existed. The state constantly intervened and controlled the type of art galleries would exhibit. Consequently most of these artists worked in private organisations like community art centres, or simply from home, but this art was not seen by the public eye until later years.

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<sup>28</sup> 'Protest' art, 'Political' art, 'Resistance' art and even 'underground' art were some forms of art that emerged from the anti-apartheid art movement in South Africa. Most of these terms are self-explanatory and it is hard to differentiate between them. When referring to these terms, it will be done loosely.



### 1.4.1 The Emergence of Protest Art

With the rising political atmosphere which created violence and disruption, and with the encouragement from two significant conferences<sup>29</sup> aimed at helping to empower Black artists to focus their attention on anti-apartheid art, art in South Africa changed. Visual art became a tool, a weapon in the hand of the oppressed. "If the media can be used to brainwash the white electorate and dominate the mass of oppressed people in South Africa, then it can, in a different form, be used to fight that domination" (Williamson 1989: 9).

#### ***T-Shirts, Graffiti, Murals and Street Art***

Even with the Government's attempts to suppress anti-apartheid art, protest art started seeping through the cracks in the walls. T-shirts, Graffiti, Murals and Street art were used to make political statements. T-shirts, for example were "an indispensable media item in campaigns launched to raise public awareness on particular issues" (Williamson 1989: 93). Eventually, through the Publications Control Board, the state banned some of the T-shirts. Those who wore them were charged and even jailed (*Illustration 1.9*).

Graffiti was another means of protesting. Graffiti is direct, because the media or censorship does not restrict it, even though it is prohibited. The other benefit of graffiti is that it takes the government a while before they can remove it, giving it the necessary exposure which the artist requires (*Illustration 1.10*).

Murals also portrayed the struggle. In order to do a mural, permission has to be obtained from the Town or City council, in which case most of them would deny an artist the right to paint a political scene on a public wall. Three students from Fort Hare University, painted a mural in the University called *Destruction, Formulation and Creation* (*Illustration 1.11*), depicting scenes of protest marchers and mine workers. The mural was completed in 1982, but demolished in 1987.

Some artists began to display their work on the streets. If it protested against the apartheid system in any way it did not remain within public view for very long. An example is a photograph of an informal advertisement taken by Steven Sack in Soweto in 1986, *We make*

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<sup>29</sup> The one conference was held at the University of Cape Town in July 1979 and entitled *The State of the Art in South Africa*. Participation from Black artists was very insignificant, "indicating the extent to which black artists had become isolated from the white academic institutions" (Sack 1991: 24). "At the final day of the conference, the artists present pledged to no longer allow their work to be sent overseas to represent South Africa until all state funded art institutions were open to black as well as white students" (Williamson 1989: 9). Another resolution from the conference was the need for increased educational opportunities for all artists. The other conference, held in July 1982 at an art festival in Botswana, was significant in that there were many more Black artists present than in previous conferences and it recognised that art could be used as a tool against apartheid.



*Signs and Fine Art (Illustration 1.12)*. The poster did not remain on display for more than three months before being removed. This poster is a “moving testimony of a fallen artist about to be devoured by a bird of prey” (Sack 1989: 78). *Illustration 1.13* shows a work entitled *Only the Poorman feel it (1985)* at a ‘peace park’ or ‘people’s park’<sup>30</sup>. The police, or armed forces, soon destroyed these monuments.

### **‘The Neglected Tradition’**

November 1988 showed the beginning of a change in South Africa’s perspective toward Black art. For the first time ever the Johannesburg Art Gallery exhibited Black art as its major show. It was a large-scale retrospective show of work by Black artist entitled “The Neglected tradition”.

The title itself was an admission of just how pervasive the marginalisation and denial of black art by the white establishment had been. Although there had been many fine black artists in earlier years, it was the energy and power of the art of the new generation which was forcing the stuffy upper echelons of the art world to take notice (Williamson 1989: 10).

The exhibition housed work from Black South African artists from the early 1900’s up to and including the 1980’s. Those works, which were originally exhibited only in the ‘Native’ category, were now being displayed as objects of art. Another break through in this exhibition was the presentation of visual art, which showed the oppression of the Black community.

Although “The Neglected Tradition” was a change in South Africa’s National exhibitions, it was a small change. Only a few, subtle protest or anti-apartheid works were displayed<sup>31</sup> – a clear indication that the government still managed to curb anything too resistant.

### **1.4.2 Artists' Work During Apartheid**

As Black artists grew more and more aware of their socio-political role they became more honest in the scenes that they depicted. The face of visual art for South Africa changed.

The events of Soweto 1976 and the disruptions of the entire nation during the 1980s transformed the Garden of Eden into a political landscape, in which razor-wire and police roadblocks intruded upon the lives of everyone. Art too lost its innocence and it is probably true that almost every artist working during the 1980s produced work that reflected the harsh political realities that were experienced then by many whites for the first time, but had become almost second-nature to so many blacks (Sack 1989: 77).

<sup>30</sup> A more detailed discussion on ‘peace parks’ or ‘people’s parks’, is discussed in Chapter 3 in *Art and the Environment*.

<sup>31</sup> Some of Dumile Feni’s work was exhibited. He depicted turbulent and haunting imagery of people suffering under apartheid as can be seen in *Fear (Illustration 1.14)*. Another work, by Dikobe Ben Martins, called *Biko and Solidarity. One Nation (Illustration 1.15)* was exhibited. This piece of protest art depicts a group of people protesting against the arrest of Steve Biko, founder of the South African Student’s Organisation. Steve Biko died in detention in 1977.



There are many examples of how Black South African artists depicted the struggle against apartheid. Here we have chosen three: Alfred Thabo, Durant Sihlali and Paul Sibisi.

### **Alfred Thabo**

Alfred Thabo in *1976 Riots (Illustration 1.16)* refers to the 1976 event in Soweto where scores of children were shot down by the authorities<sup>32</sup>. "I used to paint love stories all the time – I had no violence in my work – but one day I thought: let me paint the riots," says Thabo. "I worked very hard on the picture. When I finished it I cried a lot. Each time I looked at it I cried. The cops wanted to see it. Luckily the day they came in the picture was covered" (Williamson 1988: 106).

### **Durant Sihlali**

Durant Sihlali made a watercolour of a forced removal to which he bore witness. He painted *Race against Time (Illustration 1.17)*, while the scene was being demolished. He gave the following account of the event:

The township manager and I met again, next to the old Pimville hall...This house was also partly occupied. When he saw me, I think something sparked in him that said, "I want to prove to this Kaffir that I'll finish this house off in no time", and so he ordered the man with the bulldozer to do this job. There was no time for me to even prepare a sketch. It was a race against time. I just exploded with my brushes on the surface of the paper. By the time the bulldozer was finished its job, only dust was billowing out. He came by to get a glimpse of what I was doing. To his amazement the painting was already finished. He scoffed and walked away. I enjoyed this because I know I had won. These were not happy days. I enjoyed the challenges but again it was a painful thing to see people being treated that way. It was my job to record all that because it was part and parcel of our history. The dark one (Richards 1997: 85).

### **Paul Sibisi**

Paul Sibisi, who is from Natal, depicted scenes of violence that he saw in his Township. In 1981 he exhibited a series of works entitled the *Umzavela Unrest (Illustration 1.18 and 1.19)* at the African Art Centre in Durban. This exhibition, according to Younge, "broke new ground; white viewers suddenly saw a reflection of what was going on in the closed world of the townships" (1988: 72). At the time Sibisi, and other South African artists, were boycotting the 1981 Republic Art Festival. Sibisi had the following to say about *Umzavela Unrest*:

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<sup>32</sup> "On 16 June 1976 fifteen thousand schoolchildren gathered in Soweto to protest at the government's ruling that half of all classes in secondary schools must be taught in Afrikaans. Students did not want to learn and teachers did not want to teach in the language of the oppressor...A detachment of police confronted this army of earnest schoolchildren and without warning opened fire...The children fought with sticks and stones, and mass chaos ensued, with hundreds of children wounded and killed and two white men stoned to death...The uprising triggered riots and violence across the country" (Mandela 1995: 575).



During class boycotts at my school, the pupils marched on the streets and it continued until camouflaged policemen came to stop the demonstrations. Then the "outside element" joined the pupils and they used the demonstrations as an opportunity to loot shops and stores. The police got tough on everyone, even if they found small groups of students meeting – they broke them up and stated that no meetings could be held without permission. All students would then be punished if they assembled in groups, whether they meant harm or not. I am trying to show someone being punished, someone not intending to do harm (Younge 1988: 72-3).

## 1.5 POST COLONIAL INFLUENCE

In the beginning of the 1960's a State of Emergency was declared in South Africa because of the beginning of international sanctions when the world was exposed to the horror of the Sharpeville Massacre<sup>33</sup>. This strengthened the resistance against apartheid and with constant uprising and protests, results were sure to follow. January 1990 saw the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela after twenty-seven years of imprisonment, and the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC). This gradual liberalisation of South Africa from the apartheid government, culminated in the 1994 elections. South Africa entered the post-apartheid era with its first all-race election resulting in the ANC being voted into power and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President.

For artists, the critical pressure from both inside and outside the country to reflect this miracle, to put the past behind them and provide a cultural lodestar for the emerging nation has been considerable (Williamson and Jamal 1996: 7).

The fall of apartheid had two major effects on Black South African artists. The first was that government censorship and restrictions had fallen away, giving Black South African artists equal rights and thus the freedom to depict whatever they wished. The second effect was that the doors to the international art market were once again opened.

### 1.5.1 New Government Constitution

Dr B.S. Ngubane, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, said the following about the necessary change in art:

South African society has been undergoing fundamental transformation over the last two years. In accordance with the principles of justice, democracy, non-racism and non-sexism, every sector of our society is facing change...The arts, culture and heritage cannot be an exception in this transformation process, since they too were overtly affected by the maldistribution of skills, resources and infrastructure during the apartheid era. In fact...transformation in this area is crucial to empowering creative voices throughout the country, and is thus integral to the success of the democratic project (White Paper 1996: 2).

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<sup>33</sup> In 1960, several thousand people from Sharpeville, a township near Vereeniging, gathered outside the police station to demonstrate against the use of passes. "The police force of seventy-five was greatly outnumbered and panicky. No one heard warning shots or an order to shoot, but suddenly the police opened fire on the crowd and continued to shoot as the demonstrators turned and ran in fear. When the area had cleared, sixty-nine Africans lay dead, most of them shot in the back as they were fleeing" (Mandela 1995: 281).



After the 1994 elections, Deputy Minister Winnie Madikizela-Mandela appointed an advisory committee for the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) and in July 1994 DACST officially came into being. In August 1994 Wally Serote was elected Chairperson of DACST and the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) was appointed in November 1994. The task group “comprising artists, arts educators and cultural administrators<sup>34</sup>, was mandated to consult as widely as possible in formulating recommendations for a new arts and culture dispensation consistent with non-racist, non-sexist and democratic ideals” (White paper 1996: 6). In July 1995, ACTAG submitted its report to the Minister, after which a further investigation was conducted to determine the feasibility of the various policy options that ACTAG proposed. From the results of ACTAG and the investigations from DACST, as well as the Minister's own views, the *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage* was drafted.

In August 1996, the Cabinet adopted *The White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage*, published in June 1996, as government policy. It states the following as their “minimum standards” (Van Graan 1998: 7):

[T]he prime role of the national and provincial governments is to develop policy which ensures the survival and development of all art forms and genres, cultural diversity with mutual respect and tolerance, heritage recognition and advancement, education in arts and culture, universal access to funding, equitable human resource development policies, the promotion of literature and cultural industries (Van Graan 1998: 7).

To initiate this vision, policy will be guided by operational principles, some of which are mentioned here:

*Human Rights:* Shall ensure that all persons, groups and communities have the right to equal opportunities to participate in the arts and culture, to conserve and develop their cultural heritage.

*Freedom of Expression:* Shall ensure that all persons are free to pursue their vision of artistic creativity without interference, victimisation and censorship.

*Equity:* Shall ensure the equitable distribution of resources to all forms of art and culture, with due regard to the specific needs of each art form<sup>35</sup> (Van Graan 1998: 7).

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<sup>34</sup> Refer to Van Graan (1998), South Africa: Article 27 Arts and Culture Consultants, page xv; for more details on the members of ACTAG.

<sup>35</sup> Refer to Van Graan (1998), South Africa: Article 27 Arts and Culture Consultants, page 7 for the rest of these principles.



### 1.5.2 The New Democratic South Africa's Influence on Two Black South African Artist's Work

#### **Alfred Thabo**

Protest art was now included in South African exhibitions, nationally and worldwide. When Alfred Thabo painted *1976 Riots* (Illustration 1.16) "he had to move it with him from place to place because it was incriminating evidence" (Kasfir 1999: 158). Now he no longer needs to hide his work from the police, in fact he is encouraged to paint. In a major exhibition called *Faultlines* showed in the Cape Town Castle in 1996, ironically "the Intelligence Headquarters for the South African Defence Force" (Kasfir 1999: 161), Thabo was asked to join a group of South African artists to make works for this exhibition. According to Kasfir, *Faultlines* was "[r]esistance art's first major repositioning as a critical response to the New South Africa" (1999: 161). Artists like Penny Siopis, Willie Bester, Kevin Brandt, Alfred Thabo and Moshekwa Langa, were asked to work with documentation "gathered by friends and members of the ANC while in exile and returned to South Africa after independence. The exhibition also reflected the controversies surrounding the formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to hear accounts of government-perpetrated atrocities under the apartheid regime" (Kasfir 1999: 161).

Alfred Thabo made a painting entitled *White Nation Has Ill-treated Blacks. Thank You Mr F W de Klerk for Handing Over South Africa to Nelson Mandela. Your Kindness is So Handy* (Illustration 1.20). Still continuing in his political activist approach, Thabo's use of this title adds a sense of cynicism to the transition that took place during the 1994 elections and the inauguration of President Nelson Mandela. The painting is different to what he used to paint, in that it does not depict a scene of violence. The elongated bodies that seem to be floating in mid-space (because of a lack of use of shadows and no obvious ground on which to stand the figures) give the painting a peaceful, ethereal atmosphere. There is also a pending sense of joy and celebration about the work. This is suggested by the playful figures in the background and seemingly dancing figures in the foreground on the right.

Working under the new government changed the gloomy harsh scenes painted in Thabo's old works to a more optimistic depiction. Not all artists, however, chose to depict the favourable conditions of the new government. Moshekwa Langa, who also participated in *Faultlines*, depicted a scene to remind the viewer of the way they were treated under the apartheid government.



### **Moshekwa Langa**

Moshekwa Langa, "South Africa's most challenging contemporary artist" (Williamson and Jamal 1999: 86), made an installation for *Faultlines* that was gloomful compared to Thabo's work. It was made of "ghostly paper shapes putrefying with organic garbage" (Kasfir 1999: 162). Langa describes this piece (*Illustration 1.21*) as being about "flashes of things...about the dangerous potential of innocence, about artifice represented as reality, and the borderline between this and that, where one is neither fish nor fowl" (Williamson and Jamal 1999: 90). The work consists of brown paper, plastic bags stuffed with paper and cooking fat, and concrete sacks draped over coat hangers and drenched in Jeyes fluid and condensed milk. When you enter the space, one is overpowered by the smell of Jeyes Fluid and the sight of something that looks like an abattoir "suggesting the fate of forgotten people not at the center of the political stage" (Kasfir 1999: 162).

### **1.5.3 New International Interest**

In 1993, after twenty-seven years, South Africa was again invited to participate in the Venice Biennale<sup>36</sup>. It was during this Biennale, in Venice, that Christopher Till, Johannesburg's Director of Culture, announced that South Africa was to have its very own, first-ever Biennale in 1995. The Biennale<sup>37</sup>, which took place from the 28<sup>th</sup> of February to the 30<sup>th</sup> of April 1995, brought in many of the "world's art elite" (Williamson and Jamal 1996: 10). Christopher Till views the Biennale as a huge success:

I think the dam wall broke with the holding of the Biennale. The physical and mental isolation of South African artists was breached. A year later, there has been a sudden maturing of South African artists finding themselves projected into an international arena. The catalytic effect was for me the most important aspect (Williamson and Jamal 1999: 10).

Since the 1994 elections, Black visual art had become very popular and most galleries were obsessed "with representing the 'rainbow nation'" (Marschall 1999: 4). In the Johannesburg Biennale, twenty-two African countries were represented and "[o]f course, the mix of artists has to suitably reflect the demographic compositions of the population" (Williamson and Jamal 1999:9). But Marschall suggests that this did not last long and now the galleries have a

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<sup>36</sup> A Biennale is an international art exhibition, which takes place every two years, hence its title. The exhibition displays contemporary works of art from a selected group of countries. Every year a different country is chosen to host the exhibition. The country in which the exhibition is hosted normally makes the largest contribution of art works for the show.

<sup>37</sup> Artists from sixty-three countries participated in the Biennale, of which twenty-two were African countries. The themes for the Biennale were *Decolonising our minds* and *Volatile Alliances*. "Their relevance to South Africans concerned with investigating post-apartheid identity is pivotal in dealing with the realities of this country and this continent which has shared experiences and Diasporas" (Till 1995: 7). South African's section, divided into ten categories, addressed the changes in South Africa to which artists paid tribute to multiculturalism through all forms of art.



more “cautious and critical attitude and a renewed concern for greater focus, selectivity and ‘quality’...Four years ago the decision to let selectivity prevail over representivity for an exhibition would have been untenable” (1999: 4). For instance the exhibition *Emergence38* opened in 1999, appeared “highly inclusive at first sight, representing a large spectrum of artists working in a great variety of media from pottery to video-installation. However, the curators did by no means feel compelled to include an Indian artist’s work, not even when the exhibition was recently re-mounted in Durban, home to South Africa’s largest Indian community” (Marschall 1999: 4).

This is also due to international influence: Now with the opening of international doors, South Africa has to be willing to comply with international standards, which will, once again, compromise certain works. As we know, the first Johannesburg Biennale was successful in its celebration of “diversity and emphasising difference”, however, organisers of the second Biennale, in 1997, “selected only artists conversant with the visual language of contemporary art production and whose work corresponded to a particular, internationally accepted standard. The whole race issue was played down in the spirit of post-colonial theory and in accordance with international practice” (Marschall 1999: 5). Kasfir confirms this, stating that,

If South African artists were seemingly moving towards ‘one South Africa’ in 1994, that sense of common identity has now been ruptured by global art institutions such as the Biennale and their accompanying critiques (1999: 165).

#### **1.5.4 Reinstating Western Criticism of African Visual Art**

The opening of international doors has brought with it a lot of controversial issues surrounding Black South African visual art. The fall of apartheid seemingly ushered in the post-colonial era, but in many ways it has done just the opposite, reinstating the process of colonisation through a sudden international interest in African visual art.

All the same, one might ask if in some cases an old colonial agenda was not simply being revived, if third world countries were not becoming again of interest simply as curiosity cabinets, as cultural ‘others’, and whether the freshly heralded ‘multiculturalism’ was not in fact a revival of cultural imperialism (Williamson and Jamal 1999: 8).

When Westerners first encountered African visual art, they did not categorise it as visual art, instead it was used as anthropological information. With the lifting of the apartheid sanctions many esteemed art critics were ushered in, and once again Black South African visual art was being categorised by a Western mentality:

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<sup>38</sup> *Emergence* first opened in June 1999 in Grahamstown. It was an exhibition of South African art, curated by three academics namely Julia Charleton, Fiona Rankin-Smith and Marion Arnold.



The South African-centred view of art as a form of struggle, upheld by the ANC's Cultural Desk and various Party committees, began to be destabilized in the more international critical climate ushered in by non-South African intellectuals, first David Elliott at Oxford and then by visiting curators and art critics such as Rasheed Araeen and Thomas McEvilley in 1995 and Okwui Enwezor in 1997...While they are unlikely to replace more knowledgeable South African critics and curators such as Colin Richards, David Koloane and Ivor Powell, their operational bases in New York, Oxford and London mean that their opinions will be taken seriously by a non-South African audience (Kasfir 1999: 164).

Westerner's attempts to classify Black South African visual art has also reinforced the labeling of Black visual art.

The insisting upon wanting to classify, present as a diagram, identify the Others, and end up at a negation of their humanity to better label them in the market – as in the time of slavery – is a tradition that Africans do not wish to inherit from the West (Camara 1995: 22).

In an exhibition held in Berlin in 1996 (*Colours – Contemporary Art from South Africa*) the work was "arranged into categories like 'traditional and 'naïve', or 'protest art' and 'white art', so as to be immediately recognizable to a Western audience" (Marschall 1999: 5). Marschall further accounts for two other overseas exhibitions, which discriminate through the use of labeling:

*Simunye/We Are One* at the Adelson Gallery in New York, or *Common and Uncommon Ground: South African Art to Atlanta* (both 1996), although keen to demonstrate representivity, were ultimately curated along the lines of what is acceptable as 'art' for a Western and largely American audience; for instance, they contained no vernacular art objects that locally would be termed 'folk art' or craft. Steven Sack, who curated *Common and Uncommon Ground*, ... vehemently affirms his personal conviction that the categorisation of art into 'folk art' and 'high art' is a Western concept. The imposition of such categorisation he deems not only irrelevant to the South African context but, at the present moment, obstructive to a re-shaping of the South African art world and the re-making of South African art history" (Marschall 1999: 5).

The New South African government intends to liberate the Black South African artists from colonial rule. One of the government's attempts to initiate this is to rewrite South African history. With the new government and new constitution a new definition of South African art is required, "namely a transformation from an elitist, Eurocentric, exclusive art historical discourse to a radically re-defined one" (Marschall 1999: 1). A redefinition is necessary because a historical view on South African art does not include Black South African artists. Therefore, "the 'new South African art' is characterized by boldly shifted paradigms, impacted most crucially on the work of Black South African artists – the reconstruction of lost histories, extreme changes in exhibition and acquisition policies curricula and research interests: all of which contribute to a culturally diverse, highly representative and inclusivist, non-hierarchical, all-embracing concept of South African art" (Marschall 1999: 1).

The main reason why South Africa has little historical information on its Black South African artists is twofold: public galleries have little information on these artists, because normally a



catalogue or some sort of publication follows an artist's exhibition, and they held very few retrospective exhibitions on Black artists. This was because public galleries never received funding or support from government for such exhibitions. Another reason for the lack of publications on Black artists is that there was no demand for them from the ruling colonial culture at the time and so there were no finances available for publications on Black artists.

Unfortunately, even though efforts have been made to draw in Black contributors<sup>39</sup>, the history of South African artists is still largely being written from the perspective of, and informed by, the experiences of White South Africans. "It is also White academics who are shaping discourses surrounding South African art and determining which aspects of its past are worthy of exploration or critical revision" (Marschall 1999: 1-2). To add to this, Marschall mentions, in Anitra Nettleton's essay in 1995 on the *Tributaries*' exhibitions, that the "re-defined art history presented in these exhibitions is constructed once again by White liberals informed by their specific understanding of culture" (1999: 7). Marschall further comments that Nettleton emphasises the need for indigenous people to represent themselves and that for her it is currently still a need (1999: 7).

### 1.5.5 Tourism and the Market

The international interest in Black South African visual art also plays a role through the market. Tourism has brought with it some financial relief, but it has also compromised the type of visual art that some Black South Africans produce.

Since the fall of apartheid, tourism in South Africa has increased. Previously tourism in South Africa focused on natural resources. The White Paper on Tourism in May 1992 acknowledged South Africa's "rich heritage of cultural diversity" but did not recognise cultural resources as a selling feature (Coetzee 1994: 23). The focus of tourism has now changed to cultural resources and heritage. Black South African visual art has become a sought after commodity. In the Johannesburg Biennale, for instance, "the delicately phrased question 'Is the artist er...black, or white?' has sometimes preceded a sale – or, when the wrong answer is given, prevented its coming about" (Williamson and Jamal 1999; 9).

Futter and Wood mention the following as a negative effect of tourism: "The social trade-offs are likely to be commodification, distortion and exploitation of the indigenous culture in an attempt to promote cultural tourism and earn revenue" (1997b: 67). Francis Galloway, the marketing manager of tourism in Pretoria, asked the question: "Have we already, without

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<sup>39</sup> Some young Black researchers are emerging, but little has been published.



realising it, yielded to the needs of mass tourism which would lead to environmental degradation and insensitive commercialisation of our culture?" (1994: 152).

In the case of African visual art, what Futter, Wood and Galloway are saying, is that South Africa has noticed the potential for economic growth through cultural tourism, and in so doing people have modified products of culture (like visual art) to sell to the tourist. The result is that tourism and the market are not enriching South Africa's cultural heritage, but rather "authentic forms and designs may become prostituted for the 'tourist trade'" (Grundy 1984: 12). Grundy explains that when people are drawn into a "cash economy" there is a limited market where demands are not easily satisfied by traditional arts and crafts. Consequently, "it becomes tempting to reorganize the production process to move to mass production...The animal figurines carved in Kenya are a case in point...In a way by succeeding it fails. Quality suffers. Authenticity is compromised. 'Tradition' is maimed" (Grundy 1984: 12). The effects of tourism can be seen as insensitive because of its commercialisation of culture, which results in the lack of quality and authenticity of traditional African artifacts.

The beginnings of the consumerism of Black South African visual art goes back to the early days of European contact" (Gaburn 1974: 309). As mentioned earlier, Europeans shipped African artifacts to Europe as souvenirs. This practice still exists today within tourism. This type of visual art has become so popular that it is often referred to as 'tourist art'. Visual art is adapted to the tourist's tastes in order to sell the work. Graborn documented a revealing statement by an African carver. He said that, "We try to find out what people want to buy and then we make it" (Graborn 1976: 313). Miles categorises the Ntuli brothers, and Bhengu, discussed earlier, as well as Simoni Mnguni, Arthur Betelezi and Samuel Makoayane, as those "whose creative output frequently accorded to the demands and tastes of patrons and the tourist market" (1997: 55). They would modify their visual art to the needs of the White community and tourists. Most of their artistic career depended on this. Hezekiel Ntuli, for example, was commissioned from the early age of seventeen to make clay sculptures for the White tourist market. This accounted for the greater amount of his labour and he did not fully develop his creative ability because the market inhibited him (Sack 1991: 9).

Before, when African artists worked in isolation, the work was honest because it was not produced for the public. Now, in order to sell their work, it is produced for tourists. This changes the way the art is made. It is no different to industrialisation, with a production line and no creativity. Kasfir records what an African male painter, Kizito Kasule Maria, from Uganda had to say about visual art and commodity:



"Dealers are saying to us, please do work like this, I want it to be with this approach. If you are the type of person who is one hundred per cent independent in art, you are going to be rejected, you are not going to be 'advancing' in art. About the art being produced in Uganda, I can classify it in two categories" there is real art, which you produce with all your heart, you put it in your studio, if someone comes, you negotiate, if he doesn't give you money, [he shrugs], he leaves the work.... There's another category. You produce cheaper work: instead of spending [a long time], you complete it in three days and sell that work cheaply. But this kind of art...is destroying real art" (Kasfir 1999: 131).

The visual art produced by Black South Africans for tourists is also different from the visual art produced for their own community. Steven Sack tells of how Johannes Maswanganye made a carved figure known as a 'nyamusoro doll' for a songoma, which was decorated by additional charms, as opposed to the one produced for tourists which was painted with enamel paints (Sack 1991: 29).

## 1.6 CONCLUSION

Respondents interviewed in Kayamandi about the difference between visual art produced under the apartheid government and visual art produced now, emphasised that in the old government system the artists were inhibited in that they were was not free to produce whatever they wanted.

"People used to draw things, but had to hide them because of the laws. It was difficult for them to expose their work. The difference with this government is that it doesn't matter what you draw you can expose it, and sell it. At first it was very difficult to draw anything and go and sell it, because you need an explanation for why you did it, because of the law" (FG1).

Of the artists that were interviewed in Kayamandi, 72% of those that made visual art in the old and new government said that the type of visual art that they made before 1994 was different to the visual art they make today. Their reasons being that now they are able to move freely and sell their work anywhere; they can borrow money to start a business (government no longer destroys and removes their equipment and materials) and they can make anything they like.

The development of these artists' work was hampered by the Apartheid State, just like the work of other artists that we have discussed. This is because of the ethnocentric approach that colonists took. Colonists did not make room for the development of African culture. Black South African artists were dictated to about what they could and could not depict. Their work was often destroyed and artists were imprisoned. Some of this discriminatory behaviour perished when apartheid was overthrown, but even though the new South African government has begun to extract Western domination over Black South African visual art, it is a slow process with some ironic consequences. The tourist market is even manipulating Black South



African visual art. It is modified to meet the market criteria, which is predominantly dictated by international interest.

One of the reasons for the subjugation of Black South African visual art by colonists was because they perceived the African culture as primitive and naïve; colonists believed that Africans needed to modernise their traditions. Westerners did not consider African visual art to be art, instead Western ideology categorised it as 'craft' and gave it other dismissive labels.

The process of acculturation and subjugation of Black South African visual art, by Western society is important to consider when initiating development in a Black Township like Kayamandi. In order for effective, non-dictatory development to take place today, Black South Africans need to be empowered. In order to do this, the African culture needs to be incorporated in the developmental process. People associate with different cultures in order to add value and meaning to their lives. Therefore, cultures are an important element to development.

It is in their culture that human beings become whole. It is here that societies find and define themselves. It is here that development is forged in the crucible of the minds of people aware of their own selves and of their societies-cognizant of their past and their present and imagining their future. This is what development is all about (Serageldin 1994: 23).

Black South Africans need to be empowered to take up their cultural heritage in the New South Africa. Developers need to integrate their cultural framework into the development process. This can be accomplished by encouraging participation from the community.

If the integration of a community's culture, empowerment and participation are important principles for development, then community development is the ideal form of development today. This will be discussed in the following chapter.



## CHAPTER 2

### Human and Community Development

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Besides the deliberate neglect of the development of African culture by colonists, colonialism also instigated the process of modernisation<sup>40</sup> and industrialisation, which further added to the suppression of African culture. Modernisation and industrialisation led to an emphasis on economic development. Economic development has had negative effects on most underdeveloped areas. For example, industrialisation resulted in the division of labour, which had a negative effect on labourers. The meaningless and boring work which labourers did in the industrial revolution left people, according to Durkheim, with a lack of social and moral values (Martinussen 1997:26). The anomie<sup>41</sup> that it created caused division and there was no cohesion (Martinussen 1997:26). In addition to this, during this period the First World countries found that there was no individual achievement effort in Third World countries to drive the process of economic and industrial development. This was because most Third World cultures were 'family orientated' which modernists found was not conducive to development. Western colonialism changed people's values, leaving little room for cultural development. There was simply no place for culture.

One cannot deny that economic development is necessary, but a holistic approach is essential. Haq says that societies need to "recognise that their real wealth is their people" and that "an excessive obsession with creating material wealth can obscure the goal of enriching human lives" (1995:15).

Modernism disregarded peoples' culture and needs, but post-modernism suggests that a culturally relevant approach should be taken in development. Serageldin states that, "Projects should be designed with the users of beneficiaries in mind. Their involvement should be a key in the design and their empowerment a key in the implementation" (1994: 24). Community

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<sup>40</sup> The main type of development that took place during colonisation was modernisation. The concept of modernisation is "the side-by-side existence of traditional and modern institutions in a single society termed 'dualism'" (Haines 2000: 37). Dualism is when the traditional country will develop by means of 'diffusion' from the modern country or society, as Foster-Carter so elegantly put it: "...those who've got it giving it (or some of it) to those who haven't" (Haines 2000: 37). Modernisation assumes that diffusion from a First World country to a Third World country is unproblematically applied, because modernists assume that "all societies progress in a linear fashion along the same path towards development" (Haines 2000: 38).

<sup>41</sup> "Durkheim's use of 'anomie', "meant a feeling of rootlessness and aimlessness which, furthermore, was characterised by a lack of moral guidelines" (Martinussen 1997: 26).



development promotes human development. It takes a holistic approach to development; development designed at accommodating every area of the individual.

Humans are holistic beings. They not only need improved material conditions in order that they have a better quality of life. Individuals have psychological, emotional, spiritual, and intellectual expression, all of which require nurture and development for them to realise their full potential, and act as responsible and creative citizens (White Paper 1996: 7).

This chapter aims to outline why community development is the ideal form of development for South Africa in Black Townships today and community development should be applied by looking at community development principles. Human development is included in this discussion because it is the core of community development. Principles and practical application of human development are also outlined.

## 2.2 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

In 1969 Dudley Seers (a British economist) posed three questions in a speech, which formed the basis for human development, they were: "What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?" (Martinussen 1997: 294). According to Seers, if these problems grow one cannot call the result 'development'; even if per capita income has soared. Seers, therefore suggests that more attention needs to be given to poverty, inequality and unemployment, not just economic development (Martinussen 1997: 294). Unemployment and inequality are the main causes of poverty. Poverty is the main cause for underdevelopment and is South Africa's biggest developmental challenge.

### 2.2.1 Poverty and Needs

The most underdeveloped areas, according to the 1998 *Poverty and Inequality Report*, are the African rural areas out of which comes the most disadvantaged group, the "African women aged 15 - 24 in rural areas" (May 1998: 11). They suffer the most under poverty and inequality. In order for equal development to take place in South Africa, these peoples' basic needs need to be met and they need to be empowered.

Poverty is grossly under perceived. This is one of the primary reasons for unsuccessful eradication of poverty<sup>42</sup>. In order to bring about human development, needs need to be

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<sup>42</sup> Martinussen writes that Chambers mentioned six areas in which poverty is undermined, mainly in rural areas. The first is a choice of special areas only. He says that the areas that are visited are accessible, while most areas



satisfied. Max-Neef calls this a “satisfier”<sup>43</sup> (1991: 16). He further suggests the following two concepts about needs:

First: Fundamental human needs are finite, few and classifiable. Second: fundamental human needs are all the same in all cultures and in all historical periods. What changes, both over time and through cultures, is the way or the means by which the needs are satisfied (Max-Neef 1991: 18).

Poverty is not just a lack of income and possessions; not having food and shelter. It includes physical, social and mental paradigms. The following is a definition put together from the *Poverty and Inequality Report*:

The inability of individuals, households or communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living”...for poor South Africans it “includes alienation from the community, food insecurity, crowded homes, usage of unsafe and inefficient forms of energy, lack of jobs that are adequately paid and/or secure, and fragmentation of the family...It is not a static condition; individuals, households or communities may be vulnerable to poverty as a result of shocks and crises (uncontrollable events which harm livelihoods and food security) and long-term trends (such as racial and gender discrimination, environmental degradation and macroeconomic trends). Vulnerability to poverty is therefore characterised by an inability to devise an appropriate coping or management strategy in times of crisis. Poverty may also involve social exclusion in either an economic dimension (exclusion from the labour market and opportunities to earn income) or a purely social dimension (exclusion from decision-making, social, services, and access to community and family support) (May 1998: 3).

Human development is concerned with the eradication of poverty or “poverties”<sup>44</sup>, because in order to develop a person you need to consider more than just their needs for food and shelter. According to Haq, “The objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives” (1995: 14). He adds, “the quality of the growth is just as important as its quantity” (1995: 15). Human development includes intellectual and creative development too. This builds self-confidence and self-worth in a person and thus empowers them.

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are in actual fact inaccessible, people however, are unaware of them because they have never tried to go beyond the accessible. The second is that areas, where projects have been successful, are chosen for further development rather than others. The third is a bias towards healthy and better-off men rather than woman. The fourth is seasonal. Most people visit areas during the summer when access is easy and roads have not been washed away by floods, like they are during the winter. The fifth is “a bias against seeking out the poorest of the poor and against seeking out those who are chronically ill or physically or mentally handicapped” (1997: 305). This Chambers terms “diplomatic”. The sixth is the tendency that development workers have to focus on their own specialisation, rather than trying to understand the holistic view to poverty (1997: 305).

<sup>43</sup> Max-Neef draws an interesting distinction between needs and satisfiers. He says that everyone has needs but it is in the satisfying of these needs where things become complicated. He says that there is no “one-to-one correspondence between needs and satisfiers” (1991: 17).

<sup>44</sup> Max-Neef suggests that, “any fundamental human need that is not adequately satisfied reveals a human poverty” (1991: 18). He further suggests that we speak of “poverties” instead of poverty.



### 2.2.2 Participation

If development creates dependency, it will not empower people. Instead, creating an opportunity for people to participate in development will build their self worth and empower them to help themselves.

Burkey suggests that participation is a basic need<sup>45</sup> and that it is essential for development. In the following quote he confirms this and gives a fitting definition of human development.

Participation is an essential part of human growth, that is the development of self-confidence, pride, initiative, creativity, responsibility, and cooperation. Without such a development within the people themselves all efforts to alleviate their poverty will be immensely more difficult, if not impossible. This process, whereby people learn to take charge of their own lives and solve their own problems is the essence of development (1993: 56).

Participation is an “*end in itself*, a democratic right.” It can therefore have an effect on the “ownership by the people of their own cultural heritage and the need to consult them on what is done to protect this heritage” (Van der Waal 1997: 10). Through participation from the community, their culture and traditions can be conserved.

Marc explains four types of advantages resulting from participatory development in the environmental sector according to a paper by Scott Guggenheim and Maritta Koch-Wester<sup>46</sup>. They are: firstly, that “they [participatory approaches] help planners and developers gain a better understanding of local knowledge and experience”. Secondly, “they improve project design and implementation” through the provision of “direct incentives for community members to participate in and maintain a resource management project”. Thirdly, participatory approaches can “complement and strengthen public sector institutions by taking over functions more appropriately handled at the local level and (fourthly) they can help resolve conflict over resource use” (1994: 258).

Participation is ultimately a “process by which a community can internalize the goal of the project” (Marc 1994: 268). This will ensure that the people’s “views, attitudes, and values” (Marc 1994: 268) come first; and that the project is therefore culturally relative. Implementers

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<sup>45</sup> “The process of awakening, raising of levels of consciousness, or conscientisation, constitutes a process of self-transformation through which people grow and mature as human beings. In this sense participation is a basic human need” (1993: 57).

<sup>46</sup> The paper is entitled *Participation for Sustainable Development* and was prepared for the NGO/World Bank Committee meeting 1991 (Marc 1994: 258).



can facilitate the project until their assistance is no longer needed and the community takes over. The implementers' goal should therefore be to put themselves out of a job.

### 2.2.3 Principles for Human Development

Haq, in the following features, shows us how to establish human development. Firstly, people need to be the core of development, as Max-Neef confirms: "Human development is motivated by human needs and once understood, will guide our actions and expectations" (1991: 15). Secondly, "society needs to build up human capabilities as well as ensure equitable access to human opportunities" (Haq 1995: 16). Thirdly, human development requires a balance between *ends* and *means*. "People are regarded as the end. But means are not forgotten"<sup>47</sup> (Haq 1995: 16). Fourthly, human development needs to include all social paradigms: economic, political, state and civil; and fifthly, people are recognised as the ultimate end of development, but not as instruments or the mechanisms used for production. Haq also mentions four essential ingredients for human development, which distinguish it from other perspectives on development. They are: equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment<sup>48</sup> (1995: 16).

Human development is now an acknowledged form of development. In 1989 the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) sponsored the first *Human Development Report*. This resulted in the establishment of the *Human Development Index (HDI)*. The HDI is an index which measures the socio-economic progress of people (Haq 1995: 47). The index measures the basic concept of human development, which is to enlarge people's choices<sup>49</sup>.

## 2.3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Human and community development go hand-in-hand. Without human development it is not possible to effectively develop the community. To successfully develop the community you need people who are self-confident, assertive, have faith in their own abilities and trust their

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<sup>47</sup> "The character and distribution of economic growth are measured against the yardstick of enriching the lives of people" (Haq 1995: 16).

<sup>48</sup> Equity refers equal sharing in results and opportunities. It also includes redistribution. Sustainability points to human life as the most important end in development and thus must be sustained. The next generation must be provided for. Productivity, another essential feature, "requires investments in people and an enabling macroeconomic environment for them to achieve their maximum potential" (Haq 1995: 19). Empowerment is a necessity for human development. People need to participate and learn to provide for themselves.

<sup>49</sup> This includes longevity, knowledge and income, which are the indicators. These are measured by life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and school education and income per capita. The figures are then weighed together to give the HDI. This index helps developers to prioritise developmental needs.



comrades, because it is ultimately up to the community to run and control their own development (Burkey 1993: 52). One could view community development as the practical application of human development.

### 2.3.1 What is Community Development?

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs uses a definition that comprehensively describes community development. Community development is defined as:

...a process by which efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (Groenewald 1989: 257).

This requires two essential ingredients according to the UN. Firstly, the participation of the people to improve their conditions and to rely on their own initiative; and secondly, the “provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual help” (Groenewald 1989: 257). Community development, therefore, takes place when a group of participants from the same community unite to initiate development. This type of development includes human development, because people’s abilities and skills<sup>50</sup> are developed too.

### 2.3.2 What is a Community?

Hattingh and Hagg explain that community is “an open, dynamic concept structured around various social, economic and interest groups” (Van Der Waal 1997: 10). The definition for community that exists in the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan area, for example, “is determined by the heterogeneity of the population” (Van Der Waal 1997: 10). People tend to form categories. These categories can be determined by culture. Examples are a church community, art community or residential community.

Trying to define ‘community’ is a debatable subject, however, Cloete divides the definition of ‘community’ into three categories, which will provide us with a general definition. Firstly, a community can be geographically defined. This can be on a large or small scale, referring to a country or a neighbourhood (1996: 3). Secondly, a community can be a “group of people

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<sup>50</sup> Skills, according to Cloete, include the ability to think creatively and logically and act with self-confidence, make decisions, and to feel self-worth (1996: 2). He adds that skills also include “the proficiency to feel positive toward people, and to communicate, act and collaborate constructively; and the ability to have a positive attitude towards everyday life, and to experience life in a meaningful way” (Cloete 1996: 2).



that share the same basic interests" (1996: 3). Thirdly, a community can be a "group of people who can be defined in terms of their needs" (1996: 3). Parsons describes the community as a place "where the individual experiences, and has to deal with, the constraints of society and physical environment" (Groenewald 1989: 259). In other words the meeting place between society and the individual<sup>51</sup>.

### 2.3.3 Principles for Community Development.

In order to establish principles, some misconceptions will simultaneously have to be dispelled. The first assumption is that the community is a harmonious unit. However, there is often social conflict between different groups. This is principle one. Another assumption is that the poverty level is the same throughout the whole community. Principle two is that you will always find that some are poorer than others. The third principle is that the community developer must be sensitive to the community. Another principle for effective community development is that one needs to consider development as a process that involves certain stages. These stages need to be repeated. Burkey calls the stages, "analyse, action and reflection" (1993: 61). It is necessary to repeat the stages, because over time, objectives might change and other areas may need attention, which may be lost if the process is not repeated. Finally Burkey gives us a "golden rule" ... *"Don't do anything for people that they can do for themselves"* (1993: 211).

More principles will be discussed under the next point.

### 2.3.4 Practical Steps for Community Development

There are also certain principles that need to be followed when initiating a community development project. They are: finding the main stakeholders in community development and determining what the community worker should be like; needs to be met should also be determined. *Diagram 1* illustrates these issues. According to the diagram there are three main actors: The community worker, the community and the action group, which develops from the collaboration between the community worker and the community.

The role of the community worker is to be a catalyst and facilitator. Community workers must not do the development themselves, neither should they dictate to the community nor disrupt

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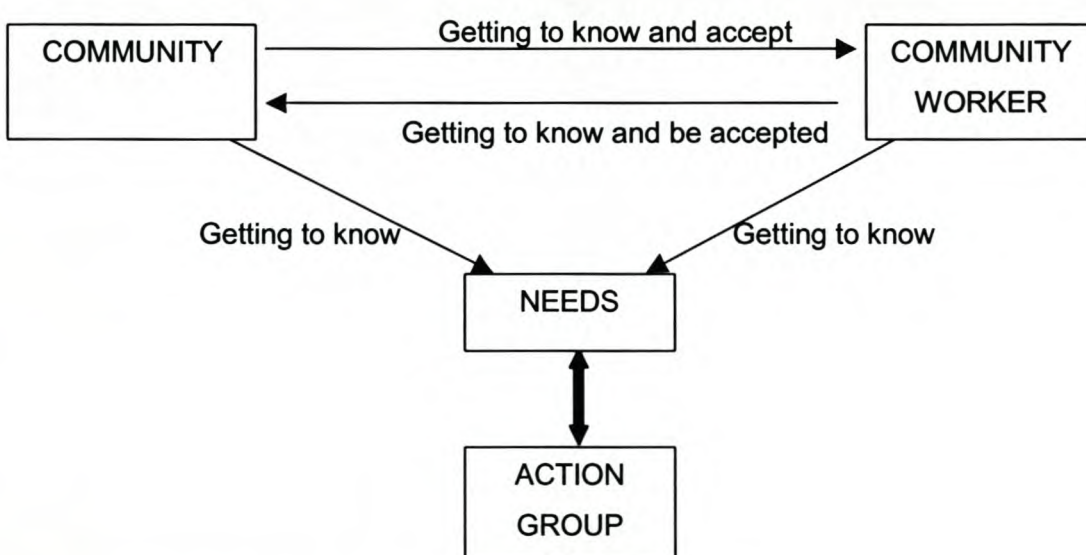
<sup>51</sup> This includes four aspects namely, residence, communication, occupation and jurisdiction and how they relate to one another.



it. The attitude of the community workers is crucial to the development of the project. They should be motivated by compassion and enthusiastic about the project. They should respect the people, their culture and traditions. If the community developers understand the community's traditions, it may help them to clarify the behaviour of individuals and make decisions. It would be easier for developers to introduce new ideas if they relate to these cultures and traditions. One of the main reasons for the failure of many development projects is that community developers lead a project for too long, creating dependency. "The danger remains that the effectiveness of the leadership makes people dependent on decisions by the leaders" (Hagg 1996: 12). Often a developer from either the community or especially outside the community initiates a project and leads it. Once the leader leaves the project, the project ceases.

The community is naturally the most important role player. As mentioned, participation from the people is crucial; without it there will be no development. The community's relationship with the community worker is also important. They need to accept each other in order to work together and to identify the needs of the people. This can be done in various ways, by means of surveys, focus groups and so forth. Once needs have been identified, an action group needs to be identified. The action groups normally surface naturally, as various people from the community witness with various needs. The action group can include anyone, but it is important that they trust each other and are able to see the project through to the end.

**Diagram 1**



Source: (Swanepoel 1989: 25)



## 2.4 CONCLUSION

One of South Africa's greatest developmental challenges is poverty. Most of the effects of poverty are the result of colonial rule. Poverty is mostly concentrated in Black South African Townships, like Kayamandi. Poverty however, is more than just a need for food and shelter, it includes social exclusions, a lack of self-esteem and respect and oppression, amongst others. Hence if development is to be carried out in Black South African Townships, it should include social as well as economic development. Human and community development promote holistic growth, which accommodates every area of human growth.

The best way to apply community development is to encourage participation. Participation enables people to feel part of the development of their community and to know that their interests, cultures and traditions are valued. It is vital, for efficient development, that people participate to improve their conditions and that they rely on their own initiative. Ultimately the community should implement development.

Community development is essential for the use of visual art for development. Visual art development projects should emphasise participation by not being exclusive; they should integrate the communities and culture by designing visual art projects that emphasise cultural heritage products. Visual art development projects should not over emphasise economic benefits that lead to mass production and inhibit creativity. Development projects should ultimately belong to the community and rely on their initiative.



## CHAPTER 3

### Visual Art for Development

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Kavolis wrote in his book, *Artistic Expression – A Sociological Analysis*, that sociologists tend to neglect the study of art as a powerful influence on society<sup>52</sup> (1968: 3). Sociologists and anthropologists mainly used visual art to confirm social conditions. Visual art was used to study society, because artists depicted historical events, geography, and experiences of society. In other words they use visual art to study civilisation<sup>53</sup>. This use of visual art is fair, but limiting. We will examine the use of visual art for human and community development more broadly.

Visual art is a very useful tool for development, because it promotes the same essential principles as human and community development. Artistic experience aids in the intellectual and emotional development of people. It can help them interact with society and learn problem solving. The Department of Arts Culture and Technology (DACST) stated the following influences that art has on development:

Arts and culture provide a means of expression, they enhance intellectual abilities and develop essential life skills. The arts also provide ways of developing and expressing a sense of identity, making cultural expression central to the evolution of a common consciousness and the building of a nation. Arts and culture also have the potential to become an important means of generating an income for people in previously marginalised communities (1997: 1).

In the previous chapter we established that it is essential for humans to develop holistically and not just economically. A person's emotional and intellectual needs need to be met. The necessity for participation was also ascertained in order to include the community in development. This chapter aims to demonstrate how artistic activities can contribute to human and community development in all spheres of development. These will be discussed under the following headings: visual art and society, visual art and economic development, visual art and education, and visual art as therapy. The role of visual art in society will be defined by discussing visual art as an element of culture, visual art and communication, and

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<sup>52</sup> "The sociological analysis of art has, however, been handicapped by the attitude prevalent among sociologists that art is of only marginal relevance to their discipline and therefore privileged to remain the last preserve of the humanists. The relative disinterest of the sociologists in artistic phenomena derives in part from their assumption that art is not a powerful influence on social behavior...In any case, the existence of some type of artistic expression in all known societies should suggest to the sociologist, as it has to the anthropologist, that art is an essential part of the sociocultural universe" (Kavolis 1968: 3).

<sup>53</sup> For more detail on how Sociologists use art to study civilisation refer to Barbu, Z (1970) *Sociological Perspectives in Art and Literature*. In: Creedy, J (Ed) *The Social Context of Art*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited and Kavolis 1968.



visual art and the environment. Then the role that visual art plays in creating jobs is discussed in visual art and economic development. The next division, visual art and education will deal with how visual art develops the individual. To investigate this, an attempt will be made to justify the use of art in school. To further investigate how visual art helps an individual grow and develop mentally and emotionally, a brief look will lastly be taken at visual art as a form of therapy.

Community arts and community arts centres play a vital role in visual art within society, but this will be discussed separately in the next chapter.

I would like to remind the reader that *Visual Art* is being discussed as the predominant form of art. Therefore, we will not be looking at the effect that music, literature and performing art has on development, although they do have similar if not the same effects<sup>54</sup>.

### 3.2 VISUAL ART AND SOCIETY

Visual art has been part of society since social beginnings. Robbins suggests that art “is a need of every member of society” (1955: 107). Visual art is everywhere in society; in magazines, on the mantle, in the kitchen and on the television. Visual art not only reflects society, but also plays an important role in developing society. “Creative art can transform the environment of man. It refurbishes the mind and the home. It can change dull routine to emotional excitement. It opens the door, through participation, to the art of the ages. It touches all things of use which make up environment” (Pearson in: Robbins 1955: 112).

In all our attempts to define the place of art in society we are continually struggling against the general notion that art is unnatural – that the artist is a rare and eccentric individual, having little or nothing in common with the common man. But it is only greatness that is uncommon, only genius that is eccentric. The appreciation of good form, the perception of rhythm and harmony, the instinct to make things shapely and efficient – these are present in the child from its earliest years (Read, H in: Robbins 1995: 121).

“Art is something everyone can enjoy. It’s not for the rich few, and it’s not for specially talented people. It’s for everyone” (Huntley 1992: 1). Anyone can practise visual art. “I think we may assume that all children begin life with all the physical or sensational equipment necessary to make them artists” (Read 1946: 99).

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<sup>54</sup> Within the new schools curriculum the “Arts and Culture” learning area attempts to accentuate the similarity of the various art disciplines on development.



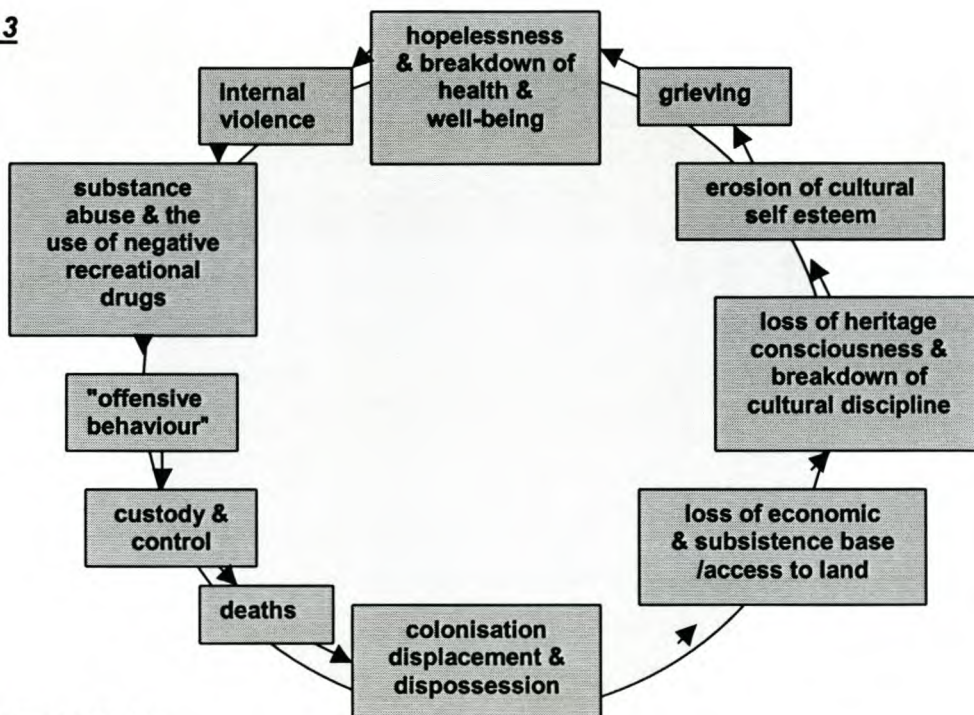
### 3.2.1 Visual Art and Culture

In order to promote participation in community development, the development project needs to have value for the community. Culture plays an important role here. People need to know that their culture is being taken into consideration. This will encourage participation. One needs to feel like they belong somewhere. Knowing one's cultural heritage gives one a sense of identity, "pride and self-respect."

It is often said that pride and self-respect are essential ingredients for successful development because they motivate people to maintain social standards in front of other groups. Cultural heritage has a very important role to play in this respect (Marc 1994: 258-9).

Black South Africans, due to colonial domination and especially apartheid, have experienced destructive degrees of poverty and deprivation. The result of colonisation and the process of acculturation inhibited the African culture from developing and hence Africans have lost a lot of their heritage. Van der Waal and Hagg state that, "The inability or unwillingness to allow the urban blacks to grow into an integrated cultural system may perhaps be the heaviest debt that is carried by the white community" (1990: 20). *Diagram 3* shows the average life-cycle of those who were oppressed by colonisation and apartheid. De Beer in *Community of the Poor*, illustrates a similar figure. He calls it *The Deprivation Trap*, which he quotes from Chambers<sup>55</sup>.

**Diagram 3**



Source: (Galla 1995: 30)

<sup>55</sup> Refer to De Beer 1997: 11, Figure 1.1.



### ***Visual Art as an Element of Culture***

Hagg states that, "Art as a revelatory process, a reflection of life, provides an antidote" (1991: 2). Visual art can help a person cope with a changing society. Hagg further quotes a Swedish minister of culture from Peter Stark:

...in time of massive and fast technological and social change, when the basic pattern of our lives is changing at an extraordinary rate, the greatest cause of personal and communal distress is an inflexible culture; an inflexible notion of that which can't be done. And the prime function of art is that it keeps culture flexible, it keeps our perceptions of what is possible moving... (Hagg 1991: 2).

Visual art plays a very important role in culture. "African art bears a testimony to the ethical foundations of the culture" (Bordogna 1989: Opening Essay).

African art, unlike most European art, generally serves a function. The art may satisfy an everyday household need, adorn the body, or fulfill a social or religious role...African art objects rarely serve only one purpose. A piece of jewelry, for example, may adorn the body, indicate prestige, and at the same time be the focal point of a ritual that protects the wearer from negative forces (Chanda 2001: 2).

Many visual art forms are passed down from generations. Visual art is part of their lifestyle. By making visual art, Black South Africans are encouraged to revisit their cultural heritage. Visual art can assist them in restoring their culture. By making something meaningful to their culture, their pride and self-respect is re-established. They also perpetuate their cultural beliefs by making traditional art products. Levinsohn writes that, "These local arts do, after all, play an integral role in preserving cultural heritage, group identity, ethnic cohesiveness and play an educational role as they infuse society's members with traditional values" (1984: 16).

### **3.2.2 Visual Art as a Communicative Tool**

Much like advertising (which is a form of art), art is informative and very necessary in a country where "[f]ifty-five percent of the population [was] defined as illiterate" (Van der Waal 1990: 28) in 1990.

One of art's main roles is to publicise through imagery. Artists can speak for themselves or a community. As Van der Waal and Hagg suggest: "One of the social tasks of the arts is to query the status quo and to offer new viewpoints" (1990: 25). For instance, during the apartheid era, visual art was used as a tool, a voice for those who were not allowed to speak. This important role of visual art during the struggle, as an expression of resistance and mobilisation of the masses, was outlined in Chapter 1 (point 1.4) and is further discussed in Chapter 4 (point 4.2.4).



Graffiti and murals are among the most useful forms of communicating to the public through visual art, because it is exposed to most of the public eye, not only those who go to galleries. Murals are especially useful in townships, as township people are the most unlikely group to go to galleries<sup>56</sup>. A mural was recently (November/December 2001) painted in the Kayamandi Township to bring awareness of HIV and Aids to the community. The mural (*Illustration 3.1*) was painted on one of the most popular Shebeens in the township. It was initiated as part of the *Stellenbosch Aids Awareness* programme. Traditionally, when a man buys a woman a beer, she repays him with a sexual courtesy. Therefore the scene is painted on the shebeen walls is to bring awareness of the use of condoms.

### 3.2.3 Visual Art and the Environment

...So pervasive are the problems that confront us in the spaces in which we live and work, locally and globally, that the condition of the environment has become a prominent concern. The physical and social disintegration of cities, the pollution of waterways with sewage and toxic chemicals, the destructive clear-cutting of forests, the degradation of the natural habitats, and the crowding and overpopulation of communities are but a few contemporary environmental problems (Neperud 1995: 222).

It is important and necessary for people to take responsibility for their environment<sup>57</sup>. Participation in visual art can aid in the preservation of our environment. It can cultivate an appreciation for the environment, which in turn cultivates a sense of respect for the environment and a need to maintain and preserve it.

#### ***How does Visual Art Help to Preserve the Environment***

Visual arts' greatest contribution to preserving the environment is by cultivating an awareness of the environment. Visual art teaches one to look. In our rushed lives we often don't notice things around us. In a way visual art opens our eyes to notice things we had never seen before. Visual art can teach us to recognise beauty in our environment. This appreciation in turn promotes a sense of respect for the environment and a need to maintain and preserve it.

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<sup>56</sup> Black South Africans have personally "been to, watched or participated in, or simply experienced" painting, drawing, sculpture/handcrafts and photography, the least of all races (White, Coloured, Indian and Black) in South Africa (Mori Report 2000: 7).

<sup>57</sup> What does "Environment" mean?

The most common definition of environment is our surroundings, natural or built things. Built things are known as the "*built environment*" (Neperud 1995: 223), which refers to those things made by man, not nature, for example buildings. The problem with this definition is that it divides nature and humans. "Environment is often regarded as 'something out there' over which humans exert control" (Neperud 1995: 223). Environments are rather a combination of "social, political, and ethnic dimensions". According to Neperud "several changed dimensions have been added to our views": Environments are "*interactive*" – they are shaped by humans and influence human behaviour. Secondly, they "*share with multiculturalism and define variables of race, class and gender*"; they are also "*phenomenological*"; *products of human interpretation*; and *reflect ideological orientations*" (1995: 224). Essentially today environmental designers cannot just simply put all their effort into the design of a building. Other circumstances need to be included in the design, like those mentioned above.



The process of drawing, painting and sculpting (or other forms of three-dimensional work) encourages the artist to “look hard at the subject and it gives [him/her] time to reflect. Thus it encourages the experience of seeing and knowing” (Joicey 1986: 8). When, for example, someone wants to paint, draw or sculpt an object like a building, through observing the detail of the building, in order to copy it correctly, one learns about the intricacies of a building and its architecture<sup>58</sup>.

Art is employed continuously to focus attention onto detail of composition of living things; to cultivate an appreciation of the aesthetic splendor of the area; and to create an awareness of the desperate need to preserve the irreplaceable treasures that form part of our dwindling heritage (Joicey 1986: 14).

Visual art has many other versatile techniques, but this paper does not have the scope for more detail. Joicey explains various methods that can be used in painting and sculpture as well as drawing in her book, *An eye on the Environment, an Art Education Project*.

### ***Visual Art Can Help Clean Up and Brighten Up the Environment***

People like to have an effect on their surroundings. They “plant gardens, landscape their surroundings, rearrange and decorate their living spaces, and engage in other activities” (Neperud 1995: 241) to improve their surroundings. Visual art can also be used to decorate and brighten up an environment. Graffiti and murals, for example, represent the need to “have an effect and make things special” (Neperud 1995: 241).

Murals that appear in townships, whether they function as advertisements, proclamations or for decoration purposes, brighten up the environment. Consider the decorative walls of Ndebele art, for example. But not just walls can be painted to brighten up the environment. Nudain Mabusu (also known as Mapendlan or Mhlahla) a farm labourer, began to decorate the rocks and stones on the farm on which he lived in 1965. At first he just painted the rocks outside his home, but then he began to paint them right up the hillside, as illustrated in *Illustration 3.2* and *3.3*. According to Huntley, “there seems to be no tribal or ritual reason for his painting – he simply seems to have wanted to decorate and to make images” (1992: 108).

In 1985 United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates initiated “Operation Cleanup” (Sack 1989: 78). In this operation the public areas of the township were transformed into ‘people’s parks’ or ‘peace parks’. “Following the declaration of the first state of emergency in July 1985,

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<sup>58</sup> Joicey in her book *An Eye on the Environment, an Art Education Project*, gives an account of how a school teacher, Chris Chappel, used art to teach the children more about their environment. In the teacher’s final remarks on the project he states that: “The children had all realised the need to preserve and care for wild life and nature – on a much larger scale than we had dealt with – and were quite vehement in their denunciation of pollution and destruction” (Joicey 1986: 11).



essential services like removal of refuse had broken down and residents were dumping their rubbish on street corners and in open spaces" (Williamson 1989: 88). Consequently, the youth in the Townships organised themselves and started to clean up:

"They can kill us and detain us, but they can never remove from us the pride of caring for our environment," said Luckboy Zulu, a 15-year-old peace park worker (Williamson 1989: 88).

Trees, grass and flowers were planted, which were donated by environmentalists. Visual art was also used to beautify the parks. 'Monuments were built and walls were painted. Such a 'monument' is illustrated in Chapter 1, *Illustration 1.13*. The construction of the Peace Parks impacted the township in that children started creating little " 'Gardens of Eden'. In some streets in Mamelodi and Alexandra, the outside of house after house was decorated with painted rocks or a colourful sign. Assembled sculptures appeared on pavements" (Williamson 1989: 88).

### ***Use of the Environment to Make Visual Art***

Visual art can be used to brighten up the environment, but the converse is also possible: One could use the environment to make visual art. This could also benefit the cleaning up of the environment.

Durant Sihlali, for example, used materials from a demolished home to make the Wall Serious, an installation of 'mural' panels for the Johannesburg Biennale that resembled walls. He printed on the panels with linoleum (often known as lino, which is used as a floor covering in many homes) that he retrieved from a heap of rubble from the demolished home.

Using the environment to make visual art can aid clean-up programmes. For example, the popular chickens made by African woman from plastic shopping bags. Beads can be made from used magazines. Cool drink cans like Coca-Cola, Sprite, and Fanta, are used to make colorful lampshades and bins. Wire, cardboard boxes, newspaper, wood, pegs, bottle lids, egg holders, cool drink bottles and such can all be re-used in visual art.



### 3.3 VISUAL ART AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The unemployment rate, according to the 1998 *Employment Strategy Framework*, “stands at about 29% if the broad definition<sup>59</sup> is used. At this rate the economy needs to generate more than 350 000 net new jobs per annum in order to address this problem<sup>60</sup> (Creating 1998: 3).

Since the 1980's there has been a shift from formal to informal employment. Between the years 1980 and 1985 informal employment grew at an average of 6.7 percent per annum (Vandermoortele 1991: 99). “By 1985, the informal sector employed about 60 per cent of the urban labour force...” (Vandermoortele 1991: 99). Since 1980 the labour market has become more informal, because a larger portion of production takes place outside of the formal sector and employment conditions in the formal sectors have gradually been informalised. Hence, labour has become more flexible (Vandermoortele 1991: 100).

In 1997 the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, L. P. H. M. Mtshali, stated the following, concerning the shift of employment to the informal sector:

Many young people in South Africa today face little possibility of employment in the formal economy. It is imperative therefore that our young people are encouraged to creatively explore other means of fulfilling their ambitions to live a better life. This is why the stimulation of job creation and economic growth through culture is a priority for my ministry (DACST 1997).

There is no doubt that one of South Africa's greatest development challenges is job creation. In 1998 the Minister of Labour, T. T. Mboweni, stated, “employment creation is a focal pillar for social and economic transformation” (Creating 1998: 1). Visual art's most prominent contribution to economic development is the creation of jobs.

Arts and culture... have the potential to become an important means of generating an income for people in previously marginalised communities. Community based arts development is the bedrock of the cultural industries, which in many developing countries are among the biggest employers and earners of foreign exchange (DACST 1997: 1).

A carver, Abenigo Zulu, who was selling his carvings at an agricultural show in Durban, explained to a reporter, Rebecca Hourwich Reyher, why he became a full-time carver: Reyher wrote that, “Zulu showed me his work ... and told me that when he saw what I had paid the Qwabes for their work ten years ago he decided that from then on he would be a carver and nothing else” (Sack 1991: 10).

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<sup>59</sup> The broad definition includes discouraged workers who have been out of work “for so long that they have stopped looking” (Creating 1998: 3).

<sup>60</sup> This figure includes new entrants into the labour market (Creating 1998: 3).



Most artists are motivated to make visual art from a financial need, especially those in poverty areas. Although visual art can offer a great deal of social enrichment and offers a holistic means to development, financial relief is the most basic and necessary need.

### 3.3.1 Visual Art Projects that are Creating Jobs

There are many successful stories on the use of visual art for job creation. Thousands of artists and crafters in South Africa produce art for a living from media to gallery. Included here are two brief examples.

#### ***Basadi Tokolohang***

Rammulotsi is a township near Viljoenskroon in the Northern Free State. Mason sketches a background of the township:

Most of the people living in the shacks are “refugees” from farms who have lost their jobs as farm labourers because of drought, the tough economic climate and farmers’ fears about having enfranchised blacks living on their land. Education levels are predictably low and employment options for the women are limited to casual labour on the farms, domestic work and unskilled labour at the local oil and peanut butter factory (1999: 1).

In 1995 a group of women got together to create employment for themselves, since they could not find employment anywhere else. The women decided to make various items out of paper maché and decorate them with their talent inherited from their culture, called *Ditima*<sup>61</sup> (Mason 1999: 1). Items like frames for mirrors and pictures, bowls and mobiles became very popular. The frames have different paint effects and some are even three-dimensional. They have different subjects like religious, tribal and hero worship.

The women named the project *Basadi Tokolohang*, which means “the place where women find their freedom”. They received support from organisations like CARE International and set up business in a converted container in Rammulotsi (Mason 1999: 1). The works are “much in demand in the local community as decor items. Traditional healers have even placed special orders to have their herbalist certificates framed as icons” (Mason 1999: 1).

The project is a success in that through producing visual art, the women are able to sustain themselves:

As a result of working with the project, the women have been able to apply for housing subsidies and they now each have a brick and cement home. They also have an income, derived from their use of waste materials and traditional and contemporary culture with a twist of humour (Mason 1999: 1).

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<sup>61</sup> *Ditima* is a term used by Africans to describe traditional house wall decorating (Mason 1999: 1).



### ***Philani Flagship Printing Project***

"Philani Flagship Printing Project was initiated by the Philani Nutrition Project and the Western Cape Department of Social Services in 1997, as part of a national anti-poverty drive to help unemployed women become economically active" (Kahn 1999: 1). The project is based in New Crossroads<sup>62</sup>, Cape Town. Koliswa Mhlope, who has been with the project since its origination said the following:

"We did training for four months; drawing, printing and painting techniques. Now we print cotton T-shirts, tablecloths, cushion covers and cloths. We each have our own designs, but everybody does all the jobs, and the money that comes from selling is shared between us" (Kahn 1999: 1).

All the women who work for the project were unemployed with children when they joined. "Not only have the women learnt a range of practical skills, but they have also undergone training in life skills, confidence building and conflict resolution" (Kahn 1999: 1).

The prints on the tablecloths, T-shirts and other items, are narratives inspired by everyday township life told in an array of colour. "The tools of the trade — from combs and razors to lotions and potions — dance around the periphery of the fabric at a safe distance from the somewhat wild-eyed clients" (Kahn 1999: 1).

The project is successful and the women have a regular income:

That news of the project has spread is one way to measure success, but more critical is the jingle of coins in pockets and food for hungry mouths. And those coins are certainly jingling a happy tune. The centre is thriving, with the women taking home a regular income every two weeks (Kahn 1999: 1).

The project is so successful that even Nelson Mandela owns a few of its shirts. The project also expects to expand by incorporating papermaking and designs.

### **3.3.2 How Visual Art can Assist in the Social Development of those Negatively Affected by Employment and Unemployment**

#### ***Unemployment***

According to Professor Jehoda, employment offers certain experiences that are relevant to the psychological well-being of a person (Stark 1976: 24). Jehoda makes particular reference to the following four categories:

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<sup>62</sup> "New Crossroads...grew out of an informal settlement that began in the mid-1970s; rural families migrated to Cape Town and settled wherever they could find space in order to be closer to their men, who were housed in single-sex hostels in formal settlements like Guguletu. Today, many of the inhabitants of New Crossroads are part of the growing tide of young people seeking a better life in the urban areas" (Kahn 1999).



1. individual social contact derived from enforced activity outside the home and family
2. pursuit of collective purposes in which individuals go beyond their personal and immediate goals
3. discipline from working within a time structure governing the execution of activities
4. social status derived from a combination of the prestige in occupation status, with the award of society's chief value token - money (Stark 1976: 26).

Those who are not employed do not experience an environment in which they can develop these motives. Unemployment can also cause depression and a pessimistic outlook on life with a loss of order. This results in a lack of interest in employment. "Unemployed people live a mainly unstructured life and tend to suffer from an impaired time sense. Added to the cultural problem of "Africa time"<sup>63</sup> it decreases the possibility for re-employment" (Hagg 1991: 7).

Those who are unable to find employment need to be in an environment that generates the same experiences that employment offers. Visual art can provide this environment.

Participation in the arts activities can keep unemployed people busy in a constructive way. Drama, music and painting provide excellent channels for the relief of frustration and anger as the artist has to combine genuine feelings with artistic restraints. This does not only prevent idling habits...but constructively builds peoples selfimage and assuredness. To produce something that is not immediately tested against salability or commercial production standards, but can be shared with others fills the creator with pride and satisfaction (Van der Waal 1989: 25).

Participation in the visual arts can also prepare the unemployed for employment again. The process of making art stimulates creativity. "Creativity and intuition lead to relational thinking, a prerequisite for survival in the chaos of modern life" (Hagg 1991: 10).

### **Employment**

Employment can have negative effects too. Although employment boosts employee's self-esteem to be able to support their families, it can also result in a loss of interest in other social issues. Modernism and industrialisation inhibited social development. Hagg states that "[t]he repetitiveness of industrial production has a negative effect on especially the labourer's experience of the work context...The repetitiveness of labour necessitates an antidote in the form of stimulation on other levels" (1991: 6). It is one thing to create jobs, it is another to create jobs that do not inhibit social and intellectual development. "Capitalism considers the employee mainly as an individual in relation to production and remuneration. The factory uses the South African worker outside his community on the assumption that it is the responsibility of the employee to take care of his social context..." (Hagg 1991: 6).

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<sup>63</sup> 'African Time' refers to a lack of punctuality. This is most popular among Africans and is therefore viewed as part of their culture.



Visual art provides a means of re-stimulating what modernism and industrialisation has undone. When people are challenged to make an art product they are required to access their creativity in order to design something, whether it is a T-shirt design or a painting. Then they need to see the project through from beginning to end. At the end they have the satisfaction of and pride of having made it from its inception. Van der Waal and Hagg describe how making an art product improves both your mental and physical abilities:

To make an art work requires several complex mental and physical processes like postulating and analysing problems; relating elements to a greater whole; finding and evaluating alternative solutions; finding practical ways of executing the ideas and extending the results in other projects (1990: 26).

### 3.4 VISUAL ART AND EDUCATION

A lack of creative development can inhibit human development. "Traditional education...is notoriously effective in killing creativity. Studies indicate that a child's creativity plummets 90% between the ages five and seven when schooling is introduced" (Hagg 1991: 9).

Visual art is one means of bringing balance to education. Recently, a friend of mine told his nine year old son who had complained about having to draw at school the whole day, that his art classes were what was going to enable him to be the owner of a company and his friends that did not take art, would be his employees. Visual art plays a vital role in education because it contributes to all aspects of human development. Lowenfeld explains:

Our one-sided education with the emphasis on knowledge has neglected those attributes of growth which are responsible for the development of the individual's sensibilities, for his spiritual life, as well as for his ability to live co-operatively in a society... Art education, introduced in the early years of childhood may well mean the difference between a flexible, creative human being and one who, in spite of all learning, will not be able to apply it and will remain an individual who lacks inner resources and has difficulty in his relationship to the environment (1957:1).

Florence G. Robbins and Gerard Hagg support this argument: Robbins states that, "self-expression on the child's own level encourages and develops independent thinking which is so necessary to intellectual and emotional development" (1955: 112). Hagg quotes Holdstock, who stated that, "Children who had the opportunity to participate in imaginative play by acting out fairy tales or real-life experiences, not only scored higher IQ tests, but as long as four years afterwards continued to show marked superiority in amusing themselves, in controlling impulsive behaviour and in concept learning tasks" (1991: 9).



### 3.4.1 How Visual Art Contributes to Growth and Development in the Education System - According to Eisner and Lowenfeld

By discussing the role of art in education according to Elliot W. Eisner and Viktor Lowenfeld, it is possible to see how visual art can be used to develop people. Visual art contributes to the development of individuals in two ways, both are equally important. We will divide these two ways, according to Eisner, into the *contextualist* justification of art and the *essentialist* justification. The *contextualist* justification is the use of a contextual frame of reference to determine the art programme by considering “both the characteristics of the students and the needs of the larger society” (Eisner 1972: 2). The *essentialist* justification, argues that “art is a unique aspect of human culture and experience, and that the most valuable contribution that art can make to human experience is that which is directly related to its particular characteristics. Art contributes precisely what other fields cannot contribute” (Eisner 1972: 5).

#### ***The Contextualist Justification***

Lowenfeld states, “the great contribution of art education to our educational system and to our society is the emphasis on the individual and his own potential creative abilities, and above all the power of art to integrate harmoniously all the components of growth which are responsible for a well balanced human being” (Lowenfeld 1957:10).

He elaborates on this by using “Johnny” as an example, and how the process of him making a painting helps him develop. In this process Johnny relates things or people to one another and to the way he feels about them, through the proportion and location on the paper and in relation to the materials he is using. It has a “unifying effect on his personality” (Lowenfeld 1957:8). Every creative process involves the whole person and not only a single segment of him/her. Visual art therefore, “harmoniously integrates all the components of growth that are responsible for a well-balanced human being” (Lowenfeld 1957:10). It takes into account the person’s emotional, intellectual, social, perceptual and physical growth<sup>64</sup>. Lowenfeld says that this is “part of the creative process and resulting aesthetic product, for aesthetic growth consists of the growth from a chaotic to a harmonious organisation of expression in which feeling, perceiving and thinking are completely integrated”<sup>65</sup> (Lowenfeld 1957:11).

A summary of the *contextual* use of art can be divided into five areas: The first area is the use of visual art for leisure. Secondly, is the therapeutic nature of visual art - that it is a vehicle for

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<sup>64</sup> Eye – hand coordination.

<sup>65</sup> This has been established experimentally, at least by implication. Lowenfeld elaborates more on the idea on page 37 (1957).



self-expression. Thirdly, visual art develops creative thinking. Fourthly, it enables children to use their fine muscles and fifthly, it gives children a better understanding of their academic subjects (Eisner 1972:8). These justifications are similar to Lowenfeld's justification of the creative process that has just been discussed, but for Eisner these justifications are not a sufficiently solid base for the field of art education and can be claimed from a host of other fields as well. He, however, feels "the prime value of the arts in education lies...in the unique contributions it makes to the individual's experience with an understanding of the world" (Eisner 1972:8).

### ***The Essentialist Justification***

Eisner states that

The contribution the artist makes is a unique one; hence, it should be valued and not diluted by using art education for the host of other purposes for which it can be used... Thus, in opposition to the *contextualist*, the *essentialist* holds that the most important contributions of art are those that only art can provide, and that any art education program using art as an instrument to achieve other ends *primarily* is diluting the art experience, and in a sense, robbing the child of what art has to offer (1972:6-7).

Eisner feels that Suzanne Langer's argument that the two major methods of knowing through which an individual comes to understand the world, is the only substantial justification for the use of art in education. They are discursive and non-discursive methods. The discursive is scientific method, logic, and fields of inquiry that are exchanged by verbal and written language. The arts provide for non-discursive mode of knowing (Eisner 1972: 5). Langer also points out that "art is a constructed symbol that presents to our perception an artist's knowledge of the forms of feeling"...and that "this is the core that all the arts share" (Eisner 1972:5).

The function of visual art as a source of justification for teaching in this light, is that it firstly, provides a means by which man can give expression to his visions. The artist "creates a form within which man's most cherished values can be embodied... Transform[ing] the personal into a public form in which others may participate" (Eisner 1972:11). Secondly, visual art functions as a means of activating our perceptiveness. Visual art provides the subject matter through which we can exercise our "human potentialities" (Eisner 1972:12). This is achieved by the artist's use of, to name a few examples, line, composition, tone, contrast and colour. We could say that our "eye is educated" through observing art. A third function of visual art, is its ability to vividly capture a moment and present it to us. By doing this, visual art heightens our awareness and encourages us to take another look at the world around us. It teaches us to observe and absorb beauty.



These functions of art, according to Eisner are explicit to art alone. Only art can help us "rediscover meaning in the world of vision." Art alone provides for the "development of the life of sensibility" and "serves as an image of what life might be." Only by means of art will artists be able to take us into their world of fantasy and dream and enable us to participate in their magical moments, ideas and feelings. Only art "enables us with less perceptivity to learn to see what was unseen, and having seen through art, we are the better for it" (Eisner 1972 15-16).

### 3.5 VISUAL ART AS THERAPY

"Through artistic activities handicaps are overcome in children, patients in the hospitals and mental institutions, and with the aged" (Hagg 1991: 8). In general, visual art activities and experiences are aids in releasing tension, strain, and frustration. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that art therapy received any serious exploration (Adamson 1970: 148). However, art therapy was recorded as early as 1000 BC in the Bible, where David calms King Saul by playing the harp (1 Samuel 16: 23).

The use of visual art as therapy will also, like with art education, explain how visual art develops people and gives them self-confidence.

#### 3.5.1 Visual Art for Mental Health

If one follows the main thread of the development of visual art then one would notice that visual art, after the Second World War, moved from representational art to expressionism. This also influenced art education. Expressionism<sup>66</sup> was introduced to maladjusted children and "it became evident that here was perhaps a means of preventing deeper disturbances in later life" (Adamson 1970: 150), because the children were able to express how they felt through art. After this interest in art therapy, the London Institute of Education included art in remedial school training. "More generally, art is now recognized, not as a mere diversion, but as a dynamic agent in the active pursuit of mental health" (Adamson 1970: 151).

In South Africa art therapy is also practiced. In November 2001 a conference on *Healing through Creative Arts* was held at Museum Africa, Johannesburg to discuss and workshop how creative arts can be used to heal, especially people traumatised by war and apartheid<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> Expressionism emphasised the artist's inner subject experiences to reality.

<sup>67</sup> Refer to CSV Trauma Clinic (2001) *Healing through Creative Arts*. Conference 22-26/11/01 Johannesburg, report.



At the end of this section we will take a practical look at art therapy in South Africa by looking at how art therapy is used in some of South Africa's prisons.

### ***How Art Therapy Works***

Adamson states a number of benefits that visual art activities offer to psychiatric patients: Firstly, he states that it creates the same atmosphere and stimulus as an "*occupational* activity: it detaches the patient from the deleterious effects of idleness and self-absorption; it imposes a discipline involving concentration and decision-making, and cooperation with and reaction to the limitations of the artistic medium" (1970: 153). Adamson adds that the process by which the patient must make decisions, study and analyse is very helpful for schizophrenic patients, because it "is an attempt to establish a system where previously none existed. It is, perhaps, a first step in reassembling the fragments of a disintegrated personality" (1970: 153).

Secondly, Adamson states that visual art gives the patient the satisfaction of having created something: "*Created* is the operative word in the dynamic area of art, where one is required not to reproduce but to re-create, and where the satisfaction is surely more profound" (1970: 153).

Another means whereby visual art activity can improve mental health, according to Adamson, is to help the patient move towards *objectivity*. "Art externalizes the inner world of its exponent" (1970: 153). By painting your experiences and then viewing your work, you are able to view the image from a distance. The patient physically separates him/herself from the image and the experience. This enables the patient to be objective "...which may in time allow his sanity to reassert itself" (1970: 153).

The use of visual art to enable a patient to be objective helps explain the next useful means of visual art activity for patients, which Adamson calls the *self-exploratory* aspect. Because the patients' work is an extension of their personality, they are able to explore themselves and get in touch with their feelings. The patient feels safe to explore, because painting "permits the necessary rationalization that he is merely painting; that it is the painting and not himself, and therefore he can afford to be more eloquent without a fear of imagined reprisal" (1970: 154). Because a work of art is an extension of the artist's persona, one can often make certain deductions about the personality and circumstances of the artists. This applies to all ages, but is especially prevalent in children and those who have not learnt to hide behind artistic technique. This also helps to make certain diagnosis of patients.

Visual art is also a means of releasing frustration and anger. "For the patient whose symptoms are manifested in uncontrollable aggression, painting provides an outlet for these



feelings and a means of purging them on paper" (Adamson 1970: 154). This kind of phenomenon, Adamson calls the "*magical*" quality which painting can possess (1970: 154). This phenomenon refers to the actual release that patients feel once they have painted an image of whatever is causing their frustration.

Painting has other "magical" healing qualities. Patients normally paint whatever they wish to paint. This is a very strict rule, considering the kinds of deductions that can be made from an image. But sometimes the psychiatrist or psychotherapist may recommend a change in the development of a patient's painting "in order to facilitate the lowering of a psychic barrier" (Adamson 1970: 156). Adamson gives an example of one of his patients:

For instance, one patient, an inhibited middle-aged woman, produced an endless succession of paintings of a posy of tight crocus buds. Her psychiatrist finally suggested that it would be interesting if the crocus petals might open just a little. The patient obliged, and as the petals of her flowers opened, she paralleled this by opening out her own shut-in personality. She subsequently revealed the conflicts which had been buried deep within her, and which had previously impeded her recovery (1970: 156).

In all this, it is important to note that the use of visual art for mental health is part of a full programme that the patients go through. Art therapy is not an end in itself, nor is it *the* cure for mental illnesses. Visual art only *aids* psychiatrists and psychotherapists in their work.

### 3.5.2 Art Therapy used in Prisons

Visual art can be used in various areas of society to enrich people's lives. For example, art is beginning to thrive in South African prisons as a use of therapy to help rehabilitate prisoners. "Weekly arts workshops, where prisoners are taught storytelling, visual arts, dance, drama, poetry and music, are aimed at reinstating the prisoners' self-worth and dignity and imparting a new set of values" (Wa Ka Ngobeni 2000: 1). Former prisoner Simon Kunen, who found a career in art while in prison, says the following about art:

"It was...something to stimulate your mind. This provides a space to sensitize and enhance creative ability. It helps with rehabilitation too. It's not just intellectual. You grow personally and as a human being. You broaden" (Wa Ka Ngobeni 2000: 1).

Another former prisoner Mike Mabilo "changed his life after discovering his love for art" (Wa Ka Ngobeni 2000: 1). Evidence Wa Ka Ngobeni explains:

Alone in his cell, he developed his love for art. He used soap, newspapers and toilet paper to make paint. He even cut parts of his beard to use as a paintbrush. In time his talent was recognised by a prison psychologist, who enrolled him in a fine arts correspondence course at the University of Pretoria. On completion of the course, Mabilo began teaching arts, crafts and pottery to his fellow prisoners. In 1998, with his team of students, he won the Bertrams Indigenous Art Africa award (2000: 1).



Mabilo was released on parole with a reduced sentence. He then set up an art centre called Zisebenzele (Zulu for "work for yourself") in Soweto. The art centre is now creating employment for many in the area.

Art projects are also being used to teach juveniles skills as a healthy alternative to crime. One of these projects is at Krugersdorp and another is taking hold in Cape Town. An organisation in Cape Town, Creative Education with Youth at Risk (Cred), has piloted a programme at Pollsmoor's B4 section, "where artists are helping juvenile offenders heal the wounds of poverty, violence, neglect and drugs. With few resources, and against a background of difficult circumstances, art projects are performing a small miracle" (Wa Ka Ngobeni 2000: 1).

### 3.6 CONCLUSION

Creativity is a very important and a vital element in human growth and development. Creativity, however, is not limited to art. It is argued that other forms of group activities like sports and games can substitute some of the ways in which art can contribute to development. But art also has unique characteristics.

Artistic production promotes human and community development. Community development requires that development have a holistic approach, encourages participation, empowers the community and is culturally relative. We saw in this chapter *how* art promotes all these principles. By encouraging participants to make traditional art products, for instance, participants' self-worth is encouraged, because their culture is integrated, making the exercise culturally relative. The process of making art, enables individuals to develop their self-identity, self-concept and self-confidence. This in turn empowers participants. Visual art production can contribute to economic development through jobs by enabling the creator to produce something he or she can sell to the public, especially tourists. Visual art projects can promote environmental awareness and improvement: Projects like murals and the use of environmental products like paper, cans, wood and such to create artifacts, creates an appreciation and an awareness of the environment.



## CHAPTER 4

### Community Arts and Community Arts Centres

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Community arts and community arts centres play an important role in the contribution of visual art to community development. According to Bramham, "Community arts were felt to be the ones that built communities, ones that contributed to the quality of people's lives" (1994: 96).

Previously, art was not regarded as priority at most educational levels in the Black community. However, one way they could experience art was through community arts centres. Community arts makes visual art (and other art forms) available to the community, by taking art to the community. Barbara Masekela, from the President's Office, said the following at the April/May 1993 Culture and Development Conference, about the need for art for development.

We should be looking for venues in the urban ghettos, in the rural settlements and in the informal settlements. We should have practical projects in all the arts to improve the quality of life for our oppressed people who, because of apartheid, have been excluded (Looking 1995: 16).

She added that this was "not the arts in the ivory towers, but the arts in and among our heroic people who have for so long been our inspiration" (Looking 1995: 17).

For South Africa, community arts play a vital role in making art available to previously disadvantaged groups in underprivileged areas<sup>68</sup>. However, it is important that community arts are not perceived as a form of social work, but rather applied and experienced as an empowering force. Community arts promote community development principles like accessibility and participation, which are essential qualities of community arts. Community arts use participation and accessibility to bring people together and enhancing the life of the community.

Community artists seek to bring in and impact upon individuals as people rather than to treat them as subjects, clients or consumers. They seek to make art less remote and more relevant to people's everyday lives, to build on a diverse and vibrant amateur arts tradition (Bramham 1994: 88/89).

In order to address the role that community arts and community arts centres play in the use of visual art for community development, this chapter will firstly, attempt to define 'community

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<sup>68</sup> It is important to note that this does not exclude the more privileged areas in South Africa. The lack of community arts centres in these areas is because there is not a real need for them. Art and art equipment is available at formal institutions and schools. Some White communities established arts centres to accommodate their scholars.



arts' and 'community arts centres'. The approach of community arts to culture as well as its function has been included in the definition. Once a definition has been established the origins of community arts and community arts centres will be outlined. Addressing the changing role of community arts centres in the New South Africa follows this.

The reader should note that it is dangerous to generalise about these terms, because the centres vary. Therefore it is important to keep in mind that not all community arts and community arts centres conform to the definition. Also to be noted is that community arts centres and community arts are often used interchangeably. This is because they have the same function and goal. Community arts centres refer to a structure in which community arts take place.

## **4.2 DEFINITION AND FUNCTION OF "COMMUNITY ARTS" AND "COMMUNITY ARTS CENTRES"**

### **4.2.1 Community Arts**

The community arts panel of the Greater London Arts Association uses the following definition of community arts:

...The approach used in community arts enjoins both artists and local people within their various communities to use appropriate art forms as a means of communication and expression...Frequently the approach involves people on a collective basis, encourages the use of a collective statement but does not neglect individual development or the need for individual expression...Community arts proposes the use of art to effect social change and affect social policies, and encompasses the expression of political action, effecting environmental change and developing the understanding and use of established systems of communication and change. It also uses art forms to enjoy and develop people's particular cultural heritages...Community arts activists operate in areas of deprivation, using the term "deprivation" to include financial, cultural, environmental or educational deprivation (Kelly 1984: 1-2).

This comprehensive definition introduces the various areas in which community arts can have an impact. We have discussed most of these areas in detail in the previous chapter.

The term "community arts" is not a well-polished one. One of the reasons for this is the indefinable term "community". This term has already been grappled with in Chapter 2. It was concluded that it refers to both the geographical and social community. Pepper states that the "community" in "community arts" for South Africa is all those "involved in one way or another in community arts centres" (Pepper 1995: 2). However, this definition rules out all those who practise art in a community, but do not practise it in an arts centre. The best way to describe the use of the word "community" in "community arts" would be to use Van Robbroeck's



definition: "an ideational belief in unity and commonality between a given group of people" (1991: 8). "Community arts", therefore, is the collective working together of people (whether or not they are from the same culture or geographical area) to make art. It is not an individual that makes art by themselves.

Community arts takes place at the point where art meets the community. The Yorkshire Arts Association's *Community Arts Policy Paper* states that "the label community arts is not used to refer to one particular technique or type of finished product but to an attitude towards the relationship of the artist and the arts with society" (Kelly 1984: 109). Community arts is an approach to art, rather than an art form.

#### 4.2.2 Community Arts and Culture

In order to comprehensively define community arts, it is also important to mention community art's approach to culture. This supports our statement that the use of visual art for community development needs to be culturally relative.

Because community arts is for the people and does not seek to promote its own motives, community arts' approach to culture is that of 'cultural democracy', in contrast to 'the democratisation of culture'. The democratisation of culture aims to make a particular culture available to everyone. It uses the argument that 'high' art is inaccessible to those that are ignorant of it and lack opportunity. This barrier is overcome by education. The democratisation of culture would impose one group's culture on another by educating them in that particular cultures' art practices. The democratisation of culture can be seen as the compulsory imposition, on society at large, of the values of one particularly powerful group...Their imposition serves to downgrade the value of the preferred activities of other groups within society...(Kelly 1984: 101).

Previously in South Africa, the democratisation of culture took place by imposing Western art on other cultures like Black traditional art. Traditional national art forms, like ballet, music, painting and artifacts (Bramham 1994: 87), which is predominantly European, were normally promoted.

In contrast to this, community arts take cultural democracy, as its approach. It may be argued that most cultures do practise art, but in varying dichotomies. Therefore, it may appear to those engrained with the norms of a certain culture, as if some cultures do not practice art. Cultural democracy promotes a variety of cultures without imposing one culture on another. "Cultural democracy opens up neglected and hidden cultural and artistic activities as worthy of serious evaluation and public subsidy" (Bramham 1994: 87). Therefore, community arts do not promote a particular culture and is prescribed by the community.



### 4.2.3 Community Arts Centres

A community arts centre, like community arts, is also hard to define. Pepper suggests that community arts centres in South Africa tend "more often than not to have that rare potential to be places where a community of artists, and others, across cultures, and across classes meet and work, somewhat together" (1995: 2). This does not mean that community arts centres originate only in specific geographic areas, neither are their origins bound by communities that have formed out of social interest. In fact art centres, especially in South Africa, are established for a variety of reasons.

Van Robbroeck states that the "typical arts centre is housed in a building of some sort, and offers a variety of cultural activities". This definition can refer to any building including schools and universities. Therefore "the differentiating factors lie not so much in the physical structure of arts centres, as in the kinds of buildings used, the kind of activities offered, the range of people involved and the manner in which they are run" (1991: 21).

A community arts centre can be divided into two main features: Firstly, centres can be purpose built. This would normally occur when a need for a building arises but there is none available. Secondly, centres can make use of existing structures within a community. This is more desirable because it costs less. These existing structures can be any building that is no longer in use that could be converted into a centre; or it could be a building in use only part of the day, like a school. What is important about the location and size of a centre is that it should not be intimidating. It must make contact with the community and encourage participation. It should not ask an entrance fee to participate in the arts.

Community arts centres should offer a variety of activities. Van Robbroeck states seven: theatre arts (like drama), music, visual arts (like painting), verbal arts (like writing), useful arts (like utilitarian products), athletic arts (like dance), and social arts (like social skills) (1991: 22). She further states that it is important that community arts centres have a variety of activities available, because it creates a holistic approach to art and discourages hierarchy determinants in art, such as the difference between art and craft (1991:22). This characteristic of community arts centres is why one refers to *arts* in its title and not *art*.

To sum up, community arts centres can be classified by the following characteristics: Firstly, it must cater for the needs of a culturally disadvantaged population. Secondly, no or minimal entrance requirements are necessary. The participant should not have to have any prior qualifications. Thirdly, the centre must provide some professional education from artists and experienced persons. Fourthly, the centre should be a non-profit organisation. Fifthly, it



should provide a variety of art forms or at least have this as a goal for further development. Lastly, if any fees are charged, they must be minimal (Van Robbroeck 1991: 31).

#### 4.2.4 The Function of Community Arts and Community Arts Centres

The word, *accessibility*, is perhaps the most comprehensive description of the role of community arts and arts centres. As Bramham states: "Community arts emphasize access and accessibility. On the whole they are democratic and inclusive in outlook, with a local base" (1994: 89).

Community arts play a facilitating role in the community. There are four common roles that community arts play in South Africa, some of which have already been discussed: Firstly community arts centres promote income-generating activities. Artists at these centres teach art activities that are "economically viable i.e. pottery, silkscreening, linocuts and carpentry..." (Van Robbroeck 1991: 46).

The second role is that community arts centres facilitate the political needs of the community. The primary motivating force for the establishment of the majority of community arts in South Africa coincided with the struggle for democracy. Hence community arts, before the fall of apartheid, became politicised<sup>69</sup>. Community arts centres provide space for political meetings and facilities to produce propaganda art. Community arts therefore play an empowering role. "Part of the political agenda of community arts is the empowerment of individuals who, it is felt, have been systematically disempowered by the radical divisions of labour under advanced capitalism" (Van Robbroeck 1991 :13). Part of empowering people is to give them a voice through which they could communicate<sup>70</sup>. The community needs to acquire skills and resources in order to communicate effectively. Communication, through art, could be in the form of screen-printing on T-shirts or posters, painting, sculpture, and such. This could empower communities because they have an avenue through which they can voice their opinions and perpetuate their culture.

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<sup>69</sup> "This politicization of community arts centres in South Africa occurred in response to a call by the Mass Democratic Movement to democratize culture and to mobilize it as a weapon in the wider political movement" (Van Robbroeck 1991: 2). Younge states that community arts can also be seen as a strategy - "a strategy which at the moment appears to be directed at building a non-racial, democratic and progressive South African culture"<sup>69</sup> (Younge 1987: 141). Not all community arts are in opposition to the state some have "formed mutually beneficial alliances with so-called state institutions such as universities" (Van Robbroeck 1991: 24). In fact the aim of community arts should be to reconcile opposition between the public and private domain, not reinforce it.

<sup>70</sup>"The assumption behind this approach is that the ability to communicate, and thus to make oneself known, is fundamental to any society professing to be democratic..." (Kelly 1984: 110).



Thirdly, community arts facilitate the need for artistic education. They offer a variety of art to choose from, making art available for scholars and adults. Community arts also address the need for Black art teachers, offering diplomas in education.

Fourthly, community arts centres run projects that meet the social needs of the community. Often volunteers from arts centres, some of which are students at the centre, visit schools, hospitals and other institutions and entertain them with art by running workshops.

### **4.3 THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY ARTS AND COMMUNITY ARTS CENTRES**

#### **4.3.1 Britain**

In Britain the community arts movement began in the late 1960s (Kelly 1984: 9). Kelly calls it a movement, because community arts had no definite beginning and was very loosely based, with no manifesto, no official proclamation and no exclusive membership. It could also be seen as a movement, because it coincided with the cultural activity that took place at that time<sup>71</sup>, and the type of art that was being produced was new and liberal. Artists that were making unconventional work began to group together, forming communities. Community arts provided a way for this radical culture to express themselves. This interest in creating a new form of art or art movement is the first of three separate strands, which Kelly feels, together make up the foundation of community arts. The second strand is that this movement was focused on empowering people by taking art to the people on the streets. Some artists stopped taking their art to galleries and exhibited it where people gathered and others designed art specifically for public spaces. The third aspect that stimulated the beginnings of community arts was an interest in using art as a tool to propagate political and other viewpoints (1984: 11).

#### **4.3.2 South Africa**

Community arts also took root in South Africa during the same era. For South Africa, however, important factors were added that initiated community arts. The lack of facilities available to Black artists is one such factor that needed to be addressed<sup>72</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> Kelly describes the cultural activity as "political activity, popular music, recreational drug taking and new methods of contraception coalesced into a keenly felt desire for world peace and self-determination" (1984: 9). Basically the culture of the Hippies.

<sup>72</sup> "Whatever one's political viewpoint, the lack of infrastructure and development found in the urban Black townships of South Africa is undeniable" (Franks 1990: 10). Part of the reason for the gross underdevelopment in urban Black townships is that "they were officially considered to be only temporary sojourners in these so-called



According to Van Robbroeck the "South African community arts movement was set in motion by missionaries and government departments seeking to generate employment, provide recreation facilities and, in the case of some missionary projects, to foster and even revive creative traditions within the Black communities" (1991: 29). This may be true, but their intention was not necessarily benevolent. When Black South Africans migrated from rural areas to urban areas in search of employment, no facilities were made available for leisure and recreation. The idea that the hearts and minds of the growing urban African population could be won over by "properly controlled education and recreation" (Peffer 1995: 6) appealed to the Apartheid South African State. In 1930 an attempt was made to create a facility for "the small African elite of the day" (Peffer 1995: 6). The "Bantu Men's Social Centre" was established by the "American Board Mission" where they were shown "appropriate" movies and were educated (Peffer 1995: 6).

Missionaries established some of these centres. For instance, the Swedish Lutheran Mission initiated the Rorke's Drift arts centre<sup>73</sup>. H. Fosseus, the Swedish bishop and founder of Rorke's Drift centre, layed out the following aims for the centre:

To nurture the unique artistic heritage of Africa. To extend this heritage with new influences so that it will find its rightful place in an evolving and changing society. To ensure that it develops with the changing society and that its arts and crafts will find increasingly profitable outlets. To assist in raising their standard of living by extending its teaching influence through its students and by giving local people work and income (Van Robbroeck 1991: 32, quoting Le Roux).

Many community arts centres originated to meet the need among Black communities for art education. These centres, like others were established and run by missionaries or the state. "Community artists...[were] taken under the wing of the state and cooped up in cages where they [could] make a lot of noise without harming the interests of the state" (Kelly 1984: 109). Because the state funded community arts it was able to manipulate and control community arts. This was possible because community arts lacked direction and structure at the time.

Community arts, according to Kelly, was sustained by the state, not the market<sup>74</sup>. Community arts controlled by the community was an illusion. It made no sense to be paid a salary by the

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white areas of South Africa" (Franks 1990: 10). Another reason for underdevelopment is that residents in the townships do not see the township as a place for work and recreation.

<sup>73</sup> The Rorke's Drift Arts Centre, established in 1962, and the Polly Street Art Centre were the first significant arts centres to appear. They are the forerunners of Black South African art and arts centres.

<sup>74</sup> Kelly gives an account of his personal experience of how the state controlled community arts: "Community artists are encouraged to feel that they are not working in the market place, and the grants that they receive serve to remove them, and protect them, from a market place within which they would not be able to survive. This is a gross simplification, and a cruel deception. Every year we compete for the attention of the funding bodies, who are our patrons, and also our primary customers. We produce lavish annual reports, and exhibitions of work done, which we 'sell' to the funding agencies; the asking 'price' being the following year's grant. The communities with whom we work are not really our customers, since an increase in their support and enthusiasm will not necessarily



state to promote community arts and be unable to fulfill the communicative needs of the community because they wished to oppose the state. This was a catch-twenty-two situation, because most of the communities in which community artists worked were poor and underprivileged and were unable to fund community arts. In order for community arts to propagate cultural democracy they needed to determine their own funding patterns and propose their own strategies that would relieve them of their reliance on state funding<sup>75</sup>. Consequently, from the 1950's, art centres formed a sort of "sub-culture" (Van Robbroeck 1991: 42) - a culture that made art accessible to everyone, because its counter part, Western elitist art, was not accessible. This "sub-culture" formed the bases for many politicised centres that arose later.

From the 1970's many independent community arts projects formed in townships due to the Black Consciousness Movement<sup>76</sup>. According to Van Robbroeck, this movement, as well as the suppression of the middle working class and the economic depression that resulted in gross unemployment, caused an increase and politicisation of community arts (1991: 34). The centres<sup>77</sup> that were established in this era were not initiated by government or missionaries, but rather by the community itself. These centres were also able to gain private funding, and no longer needed to rely on state or church funding, which greatly increased their political agenda.

These centres are all, to a greater or lesser degree, concerned with redressing educational and cultural imbalances wrought by decades of systematic neglect and marginalisation under the system of apartheid. More importantly, however, they are concerned with establishing cultural practices free of the hegemonic influences of dominant white institutions. As such, they form part of the broader grassroots community structure (Van Robbroeck 1991: 35).

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increase our grant, just as a decrease in their interest will not necessarily decrease our grant. In institutional terms, they are our 'clients', and what that really means is that they are the raw material upon which we work, on behalf of our customers, who are the agencies to whom we sell the reports and documentary evidence of our work" (1984: 106).

<sup>75</sup> Kelly suggests that the community get involved with collecting funds which "can be a crucial means of raising the consciousness of those participating...Raising funds for a project must be seen as a vital part of community activity, and not as a separate and preceding chore" (1984: 125).

<sup>76</sup> The Black Consciousness Movement was a politico-cultural movement which, for instance, promoted "an education policy of blacks by blacks for blacks" (Van Robbroeck 1991: 34).

<sup>77</sup> These are the Community Arts Project (CAP) founded in 1977 in Cape Town, the Nyanga Arts Centre founded in 1979 and the Fuba Academy founded in 1978 in Gauteng (Sack 1991: 25). However, some centres, like the Katlehong Arts Centre established in 1977 in the East Rand and the Mofolo Arts Centre established in 1972/3 in Soweto, did not take the political alternative. They were not run by the Black community and received funding from government and churches (Van Robbroeck 1991: 33 and 35).



The rapid growth continued in the eighties with the opening of another four centres<sup>78</sup>. Community arts centres became the institutes that facilitated the uprising by the "people's culture" against the apartheid government.

Since 1994, the South African government has acknowledged the role of community arts as important players in the democratic development of culture in South Africa. In 1996 the government (The RDP Culture in Community Programme)<sup>79</sup> initiated the "upgrading and development of forty two community arts centres and libraries in all nine provinces at a total cost of R50 million" (Hagg 2001a: 49). However, this was to the neglect of other existing community arts centres<sup>80</sup>. Many have closed down or only partly function, like the Katlehong, Alexandra, and the Funda Arts Centres (Hagg 2001b: 2). DACST also initiated the Cultural industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) "as an instrument to promote the economic role of arts and culture, and particularly ensure that the international consumption of South African arts and culture products generates revenue" (Hagg 2001a: 54).

#### **4.4. THE CHANGING ROLE OF COMMUNITY ARTS AND COMMUNITY ARTS CENTRES DUE TO THE NEED FOR FUNDING AND THE COMMERCIALISATION OF THE ARTS.**

*The Report on a National Audit of Community Arts Centres of South Africa*, compiled in June 2002 by the HSRC and DACST, realises the strain in the role of community arts between its marketing and empowerment function:

As shown before, tension exists between art as business and art as empowerment. Art as business requires a market orientation and entrepreneurial attitude with a focus on profit making. Many respondents had serious doubts about the potential of community arts for income generation unless the quality of products suited market demand. On the other hand, art as empowerment requires freedom of expression and is usually viewed by the business sector as a luxury, not a necessity (Hagg and Selepe 2002: 32).

In Britain, from about 1976 community arts began to redefine itself, because of a need to legitimise itself for funding. Instead of accepting community arts organisations as they were

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<sup>78</sup> These are the Funda Centre opened in 1983 in Soweto, the Community Arts Workshop opened in 1983 in Durban, the Alexandra Arts Centre established in 1986 and the Pretoria Arts, Music and Drama Association opened in 1989 (Van Robbroeck 1991: 36).

<sup>79</sup> "The aims of the CIC programme are to develop arts and culture infrastructure, provide youth with positive outlets for their creative energies, promote income generation and recreation, and give a sense of coherence, vibrancy and identity to otherwise barren residential areas" (Hagg 2001a: 50).

<sup>80</sup> "Respondents and participants in the national workshop expressed serious concern about the DACST approach to the CIC programme. Rather than taking the older centres, such as CAP, Funda, Afrika Cultural Centre and BAT centre, as growth points for local networks into more communities, new centres were established without proper consultation with those centres that had track records" (Hagg and Selepe 2002: 27).



and adapt funding conditions accordingly, the Arts Council only funded those community organisations that qualified according to their definition<sup>81</sup>.

Community arts switched priorities due to funding conditions. "The question of what was fashionable in funding played havoc with the way in which community arts groups presented their growth and development in their annual reports" (Kelly 1984: 23). Community arts began to associate itself with social services like child welfare, drifting somewhere between art and social services. Community arts' social service was further amplified by their emphasis on enjoying the process of making art rather than focussing on the product. This was turned on its head and community arts was accused of not focusing enough on producing quality products for the market and therefore not being able to sustain itself, always relying on funding.

The situation is no different in South Africa. As stated in the *Report on a National Audit of Community Arts Centres of South Africa*, "Most funders set conditions, which do not necessarily reflect the needs of the recipients" (Hagg and Selepe 2002: 26). Art centres rely heavily on funding in order to sustain themselves. However, government spending has lessened "through a process of corporatisation and privatisation" (Hagg 2001a: 57). Art centres were expected to form public-private partnerships in order to establish a steady flow of funding, but "the private sector is not enthusiastic about investments that do not have profitable returns" (Hagg and Selepe 2002: 26). As a result many art centres tend towards multi-purposing. This also makes their justification of funding through government spending easier.

In Hagg's article, *Coping with Complexity*, he refers to the negative implications of the overemphasis of the economic role of art centres today. He states that the production of art in these new centres will probably "focus on commercialisation and mass-art production, rather than the cultural and unique qualities of art production, such as paper making for specific art works" (Hagg 2001a: 56). Secondly, he states that since the market is interested in art products and the art centres produce them in order to sustain themselves, their social empowerment role is marginalised<sup>82</sup>. He adds that this is apparent "in countries where

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<sup>81</sup> In 1974 *The Report of the Community Arts Working Party*, under the chair of Professor Harold Baldry, was published. The Arts Council in Britain commissioned the report. It has since become known as the Baldry Report. This report highlighted certain features, which add up to a comprehensive definition of community arts. The main feature is that community art consists of a group of individuals who form themselves into "an organisation of variable size and complexity, with a name and sometimes even with a constitution. They are also likely to have a place which they use as a base for their activities and which they may call an arts centre or resource centre" (Kelly 1984: 16).

<sup>82</sup> Examples of these empowerment roles are "the performing arts, primary education and therapeutic work" (Hagg 2001a: 56).



cultural industries have been promoted as part of a wider package of neo liberal government strategies" such as the CIGs in South Africa (Hagg 2001a: 56). The *Report on a National Audit of Community Arts Centres of South Africa* confirms this: "Export is virtually impossible for those centres that focus on social empowerment rather than quality or mass production" (Hagg and Sepele 2002:21).

The emphasis on producing art products for the global market is also problematic. CIGS (Cultural industries Growth Strategy) emphasise the "potential of the arts for entering the global market", which could be at the cost of the local market, excluding art and craft producers in townships. This could cause some markets to be overtly profitable to the neglect of others (Hagg 2001a :56, 57). The global market also "threaten[s] to flood local markets with cheap products..." (Hagg 2001a: 57).

#### 4.5 CONCLUSION

Reaching a common definition of community arts and community arts centres is problematic. However, some things about community arts are unambiguous and clear. For instance, its accessibility to communities at grassroots level. Community arts empower communities and give all people the opportunity to experience their creativity through art. Community arts is where art and society come together and the need for art as an element of development and human growth is revived. Lane states: "Community is togetherness: the antidote for loneliness. Creativity is contact: the antidote to alienation. The necessity for art is again manifest, at crucial points in our social and personal style of living" (1978: 76). Ultimately community arts' aim is that communities should govern projects and the centres. Like Van Robbroeck states, "Experience has demonstrated that community arts centres fulfill their roles most effectively when they are initiated and run by the communities they serve" (1991: 51).

One of the heroic roles that community arts played (those that were not controlled by the state) was to bring art to previously disadvantaged communities in a way that the apartheid government did not. They provided a place where artists could work 'underground' and produce art that protested against the government. Community arts did not neglect the Black culture and its traditions because it was 'art for the community, by the community. It was culturally democratic and did not try to democratise culture.

Unfortunately these important contributions that community arts centres make to the development of the community through visual art are compromised by the need to sustain community arts centres. Public support has lessened considerably and arts centres are now "supposed to become the responsibility of public-private partnerships" (Hagg 2001a: 58).



Community arts and arts centres now sustain themselves by overemphasising their commercial role. This has caused the art centres to marginalise the empowerment role that art plays in the development of people and their communities. It has also jeopardised community arts centres' most prominent role, to be accessible. "Commercialisation, the required cost recovery, globalisation and privatisation all tend to lead to exclusiveness similar to that under apartheid" (Hagg 2001a: 58). Community arts are not able to be as accessible as they used to be when they required no qualifications or high costs.

Community arts centres could play an important role in the use of visual art for development of Kayamandi by making visual art accessible to the community. But, like we concluded in the previous chapter, the commercial aspect of community arts centres should not compromise its empowerment role.



## CHAPTER 5

### Kayamandi Artists and Visual Arts

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Kayamandi is situated on the northern outskirts of Stellenbosch. Traditional Coloured communities, such as Cloetesville, Idas Valley and James Town also flank Stellenbosch, but Kayamandi is the only Black community. Since 1942 Kayamandi has been growing rapidly because of migrants from the rural areas in search of employment. The population size in 2001 was 22000 (Stellenbosch Gazette 2001a: 2) on 84 hectares<sup>83</sup> of land. Unfortunately, Kayamandi remains underdeveloped due to continual migration. Its informal housing and hostels constitute 80% of the dwellings<sup>84</sup>; only 30% of the population has secondary education and only 14% of those employed in Kayamandi earn more than R1000 per month (Stellenbosch Gazette 2001a: 2). Due to the oppression of Black South Africans during the years of apartheid, Kayamandi's social, political and cultural development has also suffered.

Much research has been done in Kayamandi, but none on its visual art and artists. Focus groups, surveys and qualitative interviews were conducted from mid 2000 to mid 2002, in order to gather information about visual art practise in Kayamandi. The methodology for the research is laid out in *Appendix 1* and the questionnaires are in *Appendix 2*. Residents, as well as artists, were interviewed in order to get a general view of what the Kayamandi community knows about visual art and who practises it<sup>85</sup>.

In this chapter the current state of visual art and artists in Kayamandi is analysed. Firstly, an introduction to Kayamandi is presented, in which its historical and demographic development is briefly discussed. Then what was found in Kayamandi in terms of visual art and the artist is outlined. This includes demographic information about the artists and their households; artists and their art; and the various visual art groups in Kayamandi.

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<sup>83</sup> Stellenbosch Town Planners submitted the number of hectares in October 2002. This figure includes the land that is currently being used, not planned future developments.

<sup>84</sup> This is an unpublished figure given by the Stellenbosch municipality in 2001. Although formal homes are continuously being built, it is impossible for government to keep track of migrants who, upon arriving in an urban area like Kayamandi, build informal homes.

<sup>85</sup> The reader should be reminded that only visual art, not performance art like music, drama and dance is being evaluated. The reader should also be reminded of the discussion on visual art and craft in Chapter 1, should any confusion arise concerning what constitutes visual art.



## 5.2 GENERAL BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF KAYAMANDI

### 5.2.1 Housing and Population

Prior to 1942, in the 1920's, employers provided housing for their workers. However, since 1921 a discussion to establish a "location" (Drotske, quoted by Straton 1999: 1) for Black households began. By the end of 1941, 55 houses had been completed<sup>86</sup>, and by 1944 another 20 homes were built. These homes, constructed from brick and corrugated iron, were well ventilated and had lighting (Straton 1999: 1). By 1955, 115 single-family units had been built. Straton quotes Drotske who stated that the area looked "neat" and the houses were "tasteful" (1999: 1). The area also has a school, businesses, clinics and churches.

Hostels were first erected for employees in 1966 in the form of 38 prefabricated buildings. The employers and the municipality controlled the hostels. Hostel accommodation grew to the point that whole families occupied a single unit, which was originally designed for one or two members. According to Penderis and Van der Merwe (quoted by Straton), there were three types of hostels by 1994: prefabricated structures which provided 2180 beds; asbestos clad council structures which provided 288 beds; and brick built structures which provided 238 beds<sup>87</sup>. Currently, maintenance and services in the hostels are poor and there are no ablutions inside hostels. *Illustration 5.1* and *5.2* show the conditions in which hostel residents live. *Illustration 5.1* is a photograph that was taken inside a brick hostel in 2001. In the center of the hostel is an open area where women cook on paraffin or gas burners. *Illustration 5.2* shows men sitting together outside their rooms in the narrow passages to make conversation, because the rooms are too small.

In May 1989, the Kayamandi Town Council did a survey on the socio-economic status of the Kayamandi population. Results showed that the population consisted of 6 524 people of which 73.4% were resident in the hostels; 17.6% lived in single dwellings (formal homes) and 9% lived in the Mpelazwe Controlled Squatter Area (Macroplan 1989: 3). In 1993, 14% of Kayamandi residents lived in formal homes; 22% lived in hostels and 63% lived in informal dwellings (Kayamandi 1996: 10, Appendix 1). In 1996 another survey on Kayamandi showed that the population had grown to 12 000 residents with 10% of them living in formal homes. A recent survey on sanitation in Kayamandi estimated the population size to be 22 000 (Stellenbosch Gazette 2001a: 2). Recent figures obtained from the Municipality of

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<sup>86</sup> The style of these homes varied from two to four roomed homes.

<sup>87</sup> Straton was unable to pinpoint the construction dates of the other hostels.



Stellenbosch<sup>88</sup>, counted 3 408 dwellings in Kayamandi, divided into formal houses, hostels, flats, Costa housing<sup>89</sup> and informal housing. Formal homes constitute 6.5%; 6.6% live in Costa homes; 4.2% of the dwellings are flats; 20% are hostels; and 60% are informal homes.

These percentages show that the number of formal dwellings available for accommodation does not match the growth of the population and hence the informal or squatter areas have grown from 9% in 1989 to 60% in 2001. This is due to the substantial number of migrants from rural areas. As housing and infrastructure is provided, more people arrive, making it impossible to keep up with the demand for formal homes.

Housing people in Kayamandi is a slow process. Some residents have been "waiting for more than 28 years for a house", states Elsabe Retief in an article in the *Eikestadnuus* (2000a: 8). To aggravate the situation some have switched plots, "causing problems with the registration of the property at the Deeds Office" (Retief 2000a: 8). There have also been delays in construction because residents have been stealing building materials, with the result that contractors are no longer wanting to continue building (Retief 2000a: 8).

### 5.2.2 Land Availability

Another factor adding to delayed housing development in Kayamandi is the availability of land. Kayamandi is the most densely populated area in Stellenbosch, with a growth rate of 4%, estimated in 1996 (Kayamandi 1996: 2). This rate is above the general population increase in the country, partly because of people migrating from rural to urban areas. There is insufficient land to accommodate the current population of Kayamandi. There are two open areas in Kayamandi: a soccer/rugby field and another field on which a community centre will soon be built. The soccer/rugby field is therefore the only open space. There are no parks in Kayamandi and no land for residents to cultivate.

"There is virtually no land available adjacent to Kayamandi that is suitable, from an environmental perspective, for urban development" (Kayamandi 1996: 13). This is because most of the areas around Kayamandi have been declared a "Local Nature Reserve" in terms of Section 7 (1) of the Cape Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance No. 19 of 1974 (Kayamandi 1996: 12). The rest of the land is used for agricultural development.

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<sup>88</sup> Unpublished material obtained in 2001.

<sup>89</sup> Costa homes are homes built with a foundation, toilet, and roof. There are no walls, these need to be built by the owner.



### **5.2.3 Basic Demographics**

#### ***Age***

Kayamandi's population is predominantly young. A survey conducted in January 1994 showed that 80% of the population are under 40 years of age; 40% are under the age of 20 and 30% are younger than 15. The most common age group is between the ages of 21 and 25 (Kayamandi 1996: 7, Appendix 1). Straton states that 38,46% of the population is between the ages of 21 and 30 (1999: 3).

#### ***Employment***

Data collected in 1993 showed that 25% of the population were employed; 41% were unemployed; 3% were living on pension or welfare; 18% of the population were students or scholars and 12% of the population were at preschool (Kayamandi 1996: 25, Appendix 1). Six years on, in 1999, Straton's data showed that unemployment dropped to 35%, while employment climbed to 60% (1999: 3).

#### ***Income***

Of those households that do earn, 46% earn less than R500 per month (Kayamandi 1996: 2). In 2001 a survey (on sanitation in Kayamandi) showed a 5% increase in income. 49% of the people interviewed, "reported earnings less than R500 per month, with 37% reporting earnings of between R500 and R1 000" (Stellenbosch Gazette 2001a: 2). However, this percentage has increased. More recent data collected by Straton shows that 88,4% of the population earn less than R801 per month.

#### ***Education***

The following education levels were recorded in 1996: 30% of the population have some secondary level of education, while 40% have some primary level of education (Kayamandi 1996: 2).

### **5.2.4 Social Development**

Stellenbosch is well provided with community facilities. Most Kayamandi residents, however, do not use these facilities because they are limited by affordability, mobility constraints and previously they were legally cut off from these facilities (Kayamandi 1996: 30). In order to prioritise the social needs of the community, a 1996 survey showed that "an old age home was most urgently required, followed by a secondary school, community halls, crèches, primary schools, sports and recreation areas and slaughter facilities" (Kayamandi 1996: 30). Three years later, Straton stated that "an old-age home, a library, four churches, one crèche,



two schools (junior and high), a child welfare office, one community centre<sup>90</sup>, a clinic, a general dealer, numerous informal spazas and one soccer and one rugby field" were in place (1999: 3).

### 5.2.5 Infrastructure

The community has electricity, water, and refuse removal available, but these are not easily accessible. A survey on sanitation in Kayamandi, showed that 76,6% of its residents did not have running water in their dwellings and there were no taps nearby (Stellenbosch Gazette 2001a: 2). Availability of toilet facilities is problematic: only 18% of the residents living in brick homes have toilets in their homes and 64% use communal facilities (Stellenbosch Gazette 2001a: 2). Most of the roads are tarred. However, those that are not, cause drainage problems. *Illustration 5.3* shows one of the clay roads in Zone J. Telephone wires, also seen in *Illustration 5.3*, clutter the township because it is so densely populated.

### 5.2.6 Local Government

In 1986 the township became independent and formed the Kayamandi Town Council. Before 1986 Kayamandi's administration was run by the Stellenbosch Town Council, the Cape Provincial Administration and the Western Cape Administration Board. In January 1995, the Stellenbosch and Kayamandi Town Councils were united.

## 5.3 KAYAMANDI'S ARTISTS AND VISUAL ART

These findings are based on the focus groups, surveys and qualitative interviews conducted in Kayamandi from 2000 to 2002.

### 5.3.1 Artists Identified in Kayamandi

By means of focus groups, and talking to the community, individuals and groups of artists were identified and interviewed. In total 20 artists' details were collected from the focus groups. These are reflected in *Table 1* in *Appendix 3*. 82 artists were identified. These are presented in *Table 2*, *Table 3* and *Table 4* in *Appendix 3*. *Table 2* presents 51 artists that are currently practising visual art. *Table 3* shows 2 artists who no longer practise visual art. *Table*

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<sup>90</sup> A visit to the community a year later showed that the community centre was not in use.



4 shows the various groups who practise visual art, which makes up the remainder of the 82 artists identified in Kayamandi<sup>91</sup>. These groups will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.3.2 Demographics of The Artists and Their Households

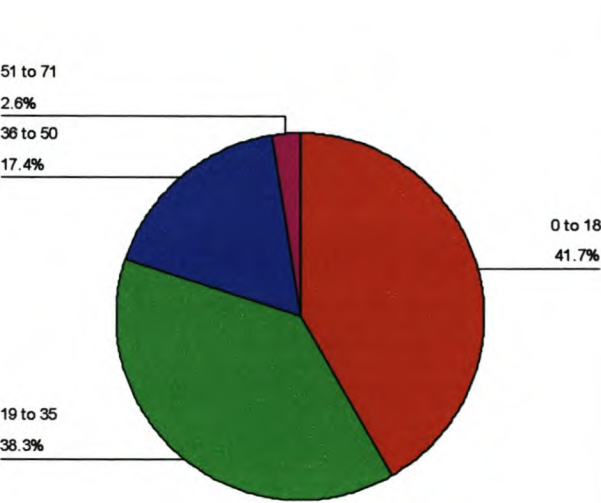
25 artists, currently making visual art, were interviewed. An analysis of the results of Questionnaire 1 gives demographic information about the artists and their households, making up the total interviewed population. In most cases the collective households of the artists (total interviewed sample) are compared to the collective results of the artists. All together 25 households consisting of 115 people were analysed. Results are given in percentages.

Type of Dwelling

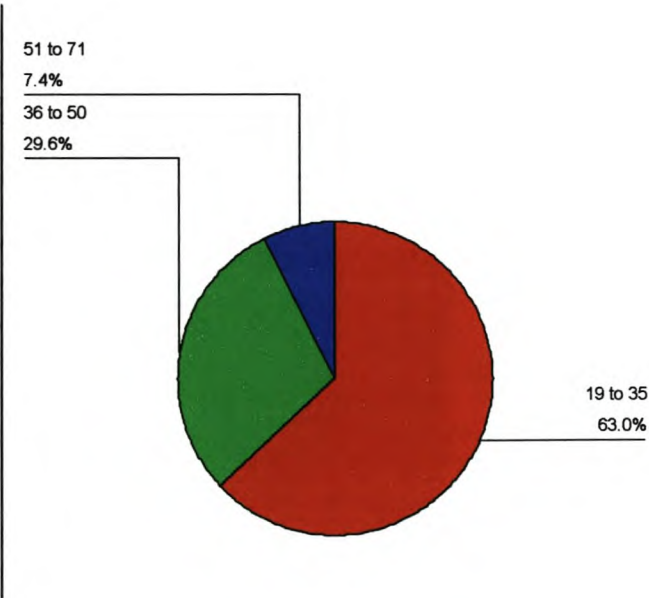
68% of the interviewed artists live in informal homes, making informal homes the most common dwelling among artists in Kayamandi. Free-standing formal homes are the second most common dwelling, at 16%. None of the interviewees stay in a townhouse or a room in a house.

Age

Graph 1: Age Groups of Total Interviewed Sample



Graph 2: Age Groups of Artists



<sup>91</sup> Approximately 37 residents from Kayamandi participate in these groups. The details of all the artists who practise art in groups are not recorded, like they are in Table 2 and 3; except 8 of the artists who work in the groups presented in Table 4 were interviewed and are presented in Table 2.



*Graph 2* illustrates the various proportions of the age groups of those who are currently making visual art. No one between the ages of 0 and 18 is currently making visual art. This makes an interesting comparison to the households of those who practise visual art, illustrated in *Graph 1*, whose largest age group is between the ages of 0 and 18. One can deduce from this that dependants under the age of 19 dominate the type of household that the artist lives in. This is confirmed by their employment status, which shows that no one under the age of 19 earns money.

### **Gender**

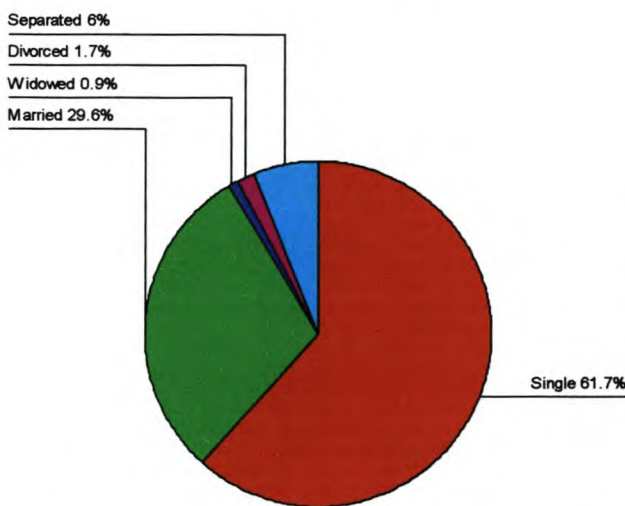
Women make up the larger portion of artists in Kayamandi with 62%, while men constitute 38%.

### **Home Language**

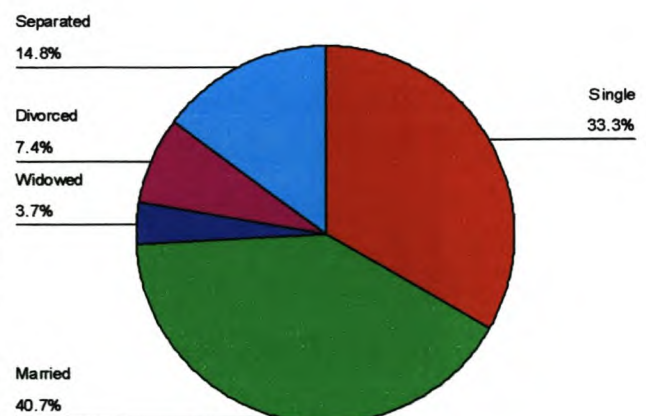
All the households, its members and those who are currently making art speak Xhosa, no other home language is represented here.

### **Marital Status**

As can be seen in *Graph 3*, the total interviewed sample is predominantly single. A comparative look at age and marital status shows that this is because the group is predominantly young<sup>92</sup>; 61.2% of the total interviewed sample are single.



**Graph 3: Marital Status of Total Interviewed Sample**



**Graph 4: Marital Status of those Currently Making Art**

<sup>92</sup> The correlation between marital status and age is scattered. A cross tabulation shows that 67.6% of all the single people are between the age of 0 and 18 years, while only 4.2% of those between the age of 36 and 50 are single. Alternatively, a look at the age groups represented by the married people shows that none of those between the ages of 0 and 18 are married, while 50% of those between the ages of 19 and 35 are married.



*Graph 4* shows the proportions of the various marital statuses of those who currently make visual art. In comparison to *Graph 3*, whose largest portion consists of single persons, *Graph 4* has married people as its largest portion. This is because there is no one that makes visual art between the ages of 0 and 18 years. Therefore, one can deduce that those who are making visual art, are predominantly married and not single.

### ***Head of the Household***

40.7% of those who make visual art are head of the household. 26% are either the partner or spouse of the head of the household. The rest are the head of the households' brother or sister; daughter or son; sister-in-law or brother-in law; niece or nephew.

### ***Residence in Kayamandi***

Only 1 artist of those who currently make art was born in Kayamandi. Those artists who were not born in Kayamandi, moved to Kayamandi from the Transkei (69%), Eastern Cape (including the Old Ciskei) (32%) and KwaZulu Natal (4%).

### ***School Attendance***

55.6% of the total interviewed sample have completed their school career or no longer attend school. This does not include those that are too young to attend school. Only 5% of the total interviewed sample has no school qualifications. 28% of those attending school are at pre-primary school. 14% of those who are currently making visual art are currently at school.

Grade 3 is the lowest educational level that has been passed by those that no longer attend school and are making visual art, while grade 12 is the highest and also the largest portion with 30%. 13% of those making visual art, and who do not attend school, have no educational background.

### ***Skills Training***

Skills training includes any training, done after school. Normally this covers training for a particular job. Of the total interviewed sample, only 24% have trained in a skill. This figure, however, includes those who are still at school, of whom none have done skills training. Therefore 43.8% of those who no longer attend school, have completed skills training. Those who currently make visual art, make up the larger portion of the 24% of the total interviewed sample that have trained in a skill, with 14%. In other words almost 60% of those who currently make visual art, have completed a skills training programme. The various skills training that those who currently make visual art have undergone, is classified into five categories: visual art, basic computer skills, engineering, maintenance and construction, and security. 75% of those who currently make visual art, trained in a visual art skill. This is to be

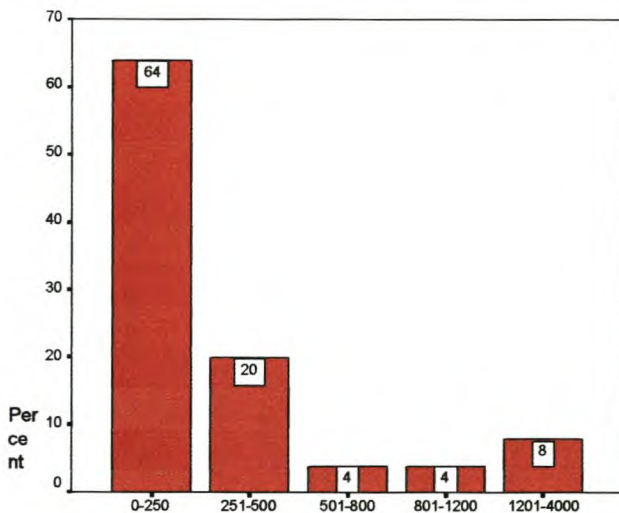


expected, considering that they make visual art now. The other four categories constitute a minor percentage of skills training at 6% each.

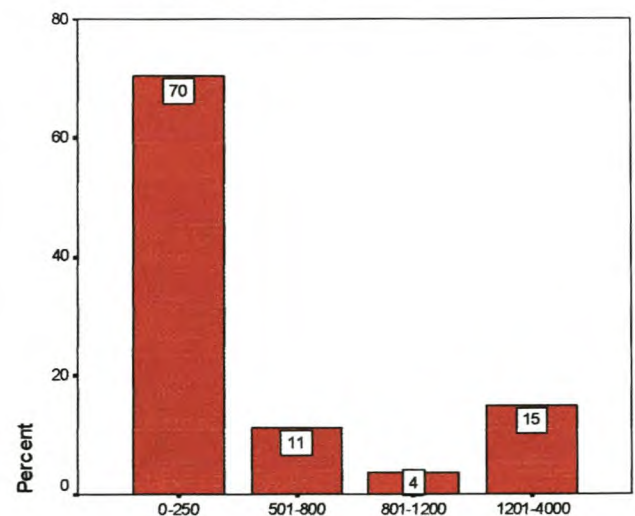
### **Employment**

Employment includes any means by which the respondent earns money. Just under one third (30.4%) of the total interviewed sample earn money. This does not include those earning money through art<sup>93</sup>. No money is earned by anyone younger than 19. 2% fewer men than women earn money.

**Graph 5: Household Earnings per Month**



**Graph 6: Earnings per Month of Those Who Currently make Visual Art.**

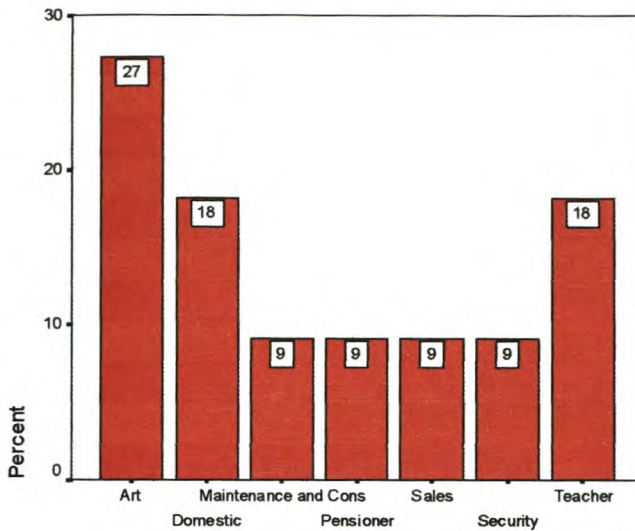


Graph 5 shows the dispersion of income among the artists' households. 12% of the households in the total interviewed sample earn no income. The highest income earned per household is R3 250. Only 12% of all the households earn over R800 per month. 41% of those currently making visual art are earning money by other means, besides art<sup>94</sup>; this constitutes 9.4% of the 30.4% of the total interviewed sample that earn money. Earnings per month among those who are currently making visual art range between R200 to R4000. The dispersion of monthly salaries of those making visual art is illustrated in Graph 6.

<sup>93</sup> Although this variable does not include those that earn money through art, some respondents make two different types of art through which they earn money. The dominant art form is covered in the second questionnaire, while the details of their earnings from the subordinate art form are recorded here.

<sup>94</sup> This calculation does not include those who earn money through art. However, some respondents make two different types of art through which they earn money. The dominant art form is covered in the second questionnaire, while the details of their earnings with the subordinate art form are recorded here. Those who earn money through their subordinate art form constitute 7.4% of the 41% of those currently making art, who earn money.





**Graph 7: Field of Occupation of Those that are Practising Visual Art**

Graph 7 shows the dispersion of the various occupations that artists in Kayamandi have. Art is the most popular choice of occupation among those who are currently making visual art. Therefore 27% of those who currently make visual art, earn money through a second form of art represented here. 60% of those who currently make art work full-time. Those who work in security and as teachers work full-time, while those who work in maintenance and construction and sales work part-time. Those who earn money through a second art skill and domestic work, work full-time and part-time.

### **Visual Art at School**

Only 12,2% of the total interviewed sample took art at school. This is because art was only offered at a few schools. It was established, during the interview, that those who claimed that they did made art at school were referring to needlework classes. Of those who took art at school, 28,4% took art at high school. The rest only had art in primary school.

In terms of those who currently make visual art, 29,6% had art as a subject at school. 38% took art up to, and including, grade 7. 13% took art up to and including grade 3, grade 5, grade 6, grade 9 and grade 11.

### **5.3.3 Profile of the Kayamandi Artists and their Visual Art**

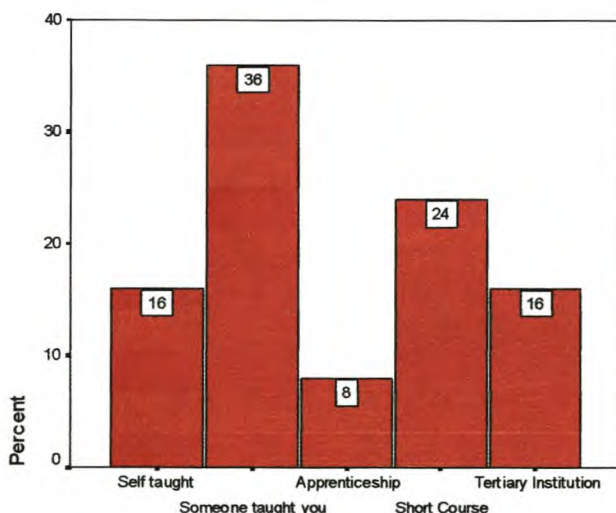
Illustrations 5.4 to 5.11 show various artists from Kayamandi with the various types of visual art that they produce.



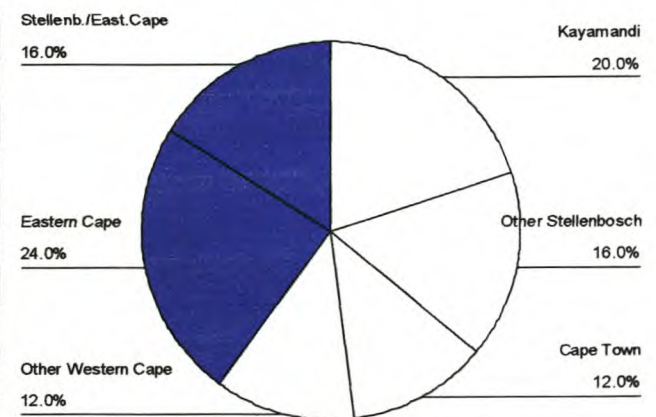
### ***Type of Visual Art produced by Artists in Kayamandi***

The most common type of visual art practised among those who were interviewed (25 artists), is bead work, with 28%, then sewing<sup>95</sup> with 16%, reed work, furniture making and pottery at 12%, painting and drawing at 8%, sculpture and painting, graphic design and paper maché at 4%. However, when considering all the artists identified in Kayamandi, which will be a better indication of the more dominant types of visual art practised in Kayamandi, bead work, sewing and furniture are the most common visual arts practised. Reed work and painting are second-most-common, then pottery, paper maché and graphic design. 56% of the artists have a secondary visual art skill<sup>96</sup>. These skills do not vary from the general visual art produced by the artists<sup>97</sup>. From these results one can deduce that visual art with an utilitarian function is the most common visual art practised in Kayamandi.

The Men and Women's focus groups also suggested options to the various arts that are already being practised in Kayamandi. They mentioned examples like drawing different subjects such as people and houses, making horses from wood, various items from wire like wire cars, traditional dresses, anything from wood, letter boxes and clay animals.



**Graph 8: How artists acquired their skill**



**Graph 9: Areas where artists learnt their skills**

<sup>95</sup> Sewing includes articles like clothing, traditional clothing, bed linen, curtains, table cloths and such, that are sewn by hand or hand machine.

<sup>96</sup> The reader must be careful not to confuse this secondary art skill to the secondary art skill mentioned under *Employment*. The artists do not necessarily earn money through this extra skill. Also note that details following the artists' art refers to the dominant art form, not the one mentioned here.

<sup>97</sup> The second/secondary forms of art produced by artists are sewing (57%), furniture making (21%), and the rest do reed work, sculpting, painting, writing and make music.



### ***Artistic Experience***

*Graph 8* illustrates the various ways in which the artists have learnt their skills. Only 4 of the artists interviewed learnt their art skill from a tertiary institution (3 did a course at a College and 1 at a University). 4 of the artists that make visual art make it because their parents produced it, consequently they were taught how to do it. These artists are among those that sew, make furniture and reed work. One artist was taught how to do bead work because it was part of their tradition.

*Graph 9* illustrates the various areas where these skills were taught or where the artists taught themselves. Although only 1 artist was born in Kayamandi, the majority of artists learnt their skills in the Western Cape, as illustrated by the white areas on the pie chart.

### ***How Long have Artists that Live in Kayamandi been Making Visual Art?***

The artists interviewed have been making visual art from 1 to 49 years. The most common length of time that artists in Kayamandi have been making art is 3 years. There is no correlation between the type of visual art produced and the amount of years spent making it.

### ***Reasons for Making Visual Art***

Of those artists who were interviewed, 44% make visual art because they enjoy it more than other work and for its recreational purposes. The rest of the interviewees make visual art for economic reasons. They could not find employment or were not earning enough money in their current jobs. 60% (15) of those who make visual art were employed in other fields of occupation before they decided to make visual art. 2 of the artists left their jobs because they needed to stay at home; one of them had fallen pregnant; another 2 of the artists were fired; 6 were retrenched; and 3 left their jobs because it was no longer financially viable.

### **5.3.4 Visual Art Groups and Projects in Kayamandi**

The discussion that follows in this section will briefly cover all the artists that have been identified, that work together in groups. (These are presented in Table 4). Some of the individual artists making visual art in groups have been interviewed. (These are presented in Table 2 - see footnote 90). Some of the groups originated because 2 or more members of the community had already started making a particular visual art product and decided to work together to share ideas, materials, and so forth, or simply to keep each other company. Other groups originated when a member of the community, or someone from outside the community, grouped people together who were interested in earning some money. In which case they would often be trained to make a product. This kind of group can often be seen as a project and even a developmental project. The projects/groups are not discussed in any



particular order. The reader should note that no comments on the groups/projects will be made at this time, only in Chapter 6.

### **Siyazakha**

Siyazakha was a group of ladies that sewed traditional garments, other clothes, bed covers, table cloths, teapot covers, place mats, and so on. Sylvia (full name unknown), who stayed in Kayamandi, began the project in May 2000. Her motivation for starting the project was that she was in great financial need<sup>98</sup> and saw that the people in her community were also suffering financially. She received assistance from a social worker who organised two sewing machines, which they could borrow from another sewing group from Tuesdays to Fridays.

Sylvia managed to get together a group of twenty women from her community. The women met in a community building in Zone 0, Kayamandi<sup>99</sup>. Every Tuesday morning the women would fetch the sewing machines, bring tables and chairs to the hall and sew. Then they would return everything in the evening, because they were unable to lock up the equipment in the hall. They would repeat the process every day. The women were given some scrap pieces of material from the social workers to get started, but they needed cotton, needles and more material. Therefore, Sylvia suggested that everyone should donate R30. Those that could not afford this, paid the R30 off.

In September the group moved to Sinethemba<sup>100</sup>. The new premises gave a sense of a formal working environment to the women and they felt encouraged to continue. It was also useful because they could lock the machines away and leave all their material and other equipment there.

Once the sewing group was underway, another need took priority. Although Sylvia taught sewing skills to those who could not sew, her skills were limited. They needed a more critical control over the sewing quality of the garments. Consequently a volunteer joined the group to assist them.

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<sup>98</sup> Sylvia used to be a domestic worker, but had been unable to find work for approximately two years before the initiation of the project. She had two children and no husband. The state paid her one hundred and seventy rand per month for her two children. It was impossible for her to survive on that amount and she became very despondent.

<sup>99</sup> Mr Van Niekerk built the building for community projects. Some people call it a church, because it is used as a church on Sundays.

<sup>100</sup> Sinethemba was the Vineyard Community Development Center. The premises are the closest building to Kayamandi in Stellenbosch; a railway line runs between them.



### ***The New Siyazakha***

The above information about Siyazakha was collected in October 2000. One and a half years later, April 2002, the group was re-assessed. The original aim of the project and its members had completely disintegrated. As the group developed, more people volunteered to teach additional skills to the group. All together there were eight volunteers. They taught skills such as how to make patchwork quilts, blankets and bed covers; crochet hats and bags out of plastic shopping bags; bracelets out of hemp; sew tracksuits; and to use sewing machines effectively.

The group changed direction from being a sewing business focused on production, to a skills training project. This change occurred as a result of all the different skills that the women were learning. Hence the volunteers began to run the project as more people joined to learn more skills and it no longer belonged to the original group. Sylvia left the group in August 2001.

In November 2001 the group was asked to leave the Sinethemba premises. In February 2002 they were offered premises in the Breugel Community Centre in Cloetesville. This centre is further from Kayamandi than the previous venue. The volunteers are currently trying to find a building in Kayamandi. *Illustration 5.12* shows one of the volunteers teaching a group of women from Kayamandi at these premises.

The project functions mainly from donations. Local churches have donated sewing machines and material. The volunteers run a six-week course, after which the people are equipped to work from home. On a Monday and Wednesday morning residents from Kayamandi are trained and on a Tuesday and Thursday morning residents from Cloetesville are trained.

### ***Masifundi Hemp Bracelets***

Two of the women who used to work with Sylvia at the onset of Siyazakha, left the project because they were not making enough money through selling the products they sewed. While they were with Siyazakha, a young gentleman was training the ladies to make bracelets from hemp and beads. He managed to organise a room in the Masifundi centre in Kayamandi where the ladies could make these bracelets. The Masifundi centre is a daycare centre. They make beads for him and he buys them from the women at R3.50 each. He then sells them to his contacts, like surf shops. The women make approximately R1000 each, per week. *Illustration 5.13* shows the two ladies in the Masifundi centre making the bracelets.



### ***Prochorus Community Development: Themba Labantu***

Prochorus is a non-profit, Section 21 company based in Stellenbosch that is involved in nine community development projects. One of the projects that Prochorus initiated at the beginning of February 2000, is the *Kayamandi Beads Project* called *Themba Labantu*, which means *Hope of the People*.

Kayamandi Beads is a job creation project aimed not only at providing the skills but also as an outlet for traditional African arts and crafts. The aim of this project is to turn under-developed areas into bases for globally competitive industries through short-term investment strategies designed to unlock dormant economic potential (Tartrek 2000: 28).

Themba Labantu is based in Kayamandi in a house owned by Prochorus. Prochorus employed Mr and Mrs Eland to initiate the project in Kayamandi. Mr and Mrs Eland introduced Mrs Ponga Karikumutima to Prochorus. Mrs Karikumutima had experience in bead making, consequently employed her to teach the women who were interested in making the beads. With Mrs Karikumutima's experience and expertise, the quality of the bead bracelets, necklaces and earrings is excellent.

Mr and Mrs Eland found it difficult to initiate the project because of the people's skepticism and lack of motivation. They finally gathered together six women who were interested, but soon had to let 3 go because of theft. Mr and Mrs Eland's greatest challenge was to keep the women motivated. They received a twenty-percent commission on sales, added to the R20 per day that they were paid as a basic salary, as an incentive.

Funding through a local church supported the project in its beginning stages until it was able to establish a market. Prochorus also raised funds through "Tartrek"<sup>101</sup>.

2001 saw some adjustments to the project. Mr and Mrs Eland were asked to leave the project. The Prochorus overseer took over all responsibility for the project. At the end of 2001 Mrs Karikumutima resigned.

From the beginning of 2001 the project was able to support itself and no longer required the aid of the church to pay salaries. The type of market that sustains the project is what Prochorus terms a "relational market". This type of market was established near the end of 2000, when an American missionary, working in central Africa on agricultural development, volunteered to take beads to America and sell them, because she wanted to help Kayamandi.

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<sup>101</sup> Every year, December to January, a group of voluntary students cycle right around the perimeter of South Africa - five thousand kilometers in forty-three days in order to raise funds for the Prochorus community development projects. This was implemented for the first time in the December 1999-January 2000 holidays. More than R10 000 was raised. They expect that this will improve as people become familiar with "Tartrek".



Since then Prochorus has been selling the beads by building relationships with overseas (mostly American) students and visitors<sup>102</sup>.

Now that their market is better established, Prochorus has been able to employ another lady, bringing the number of women employed by the project to four. The women also earn twice what they used too. They previously earned R100, but now earn R200 per week. As the projects' market grows, Prochorus intends on employing more women. *Illustration 5.14* shows the four women currently working for Themba Labantu at Prochorus.

### **Vuka Creativity Centre**

At the beginning of 2001, Mr and Mrs Eland left Prochorus to start their own art initiative. Sandile and Monica wanted to move from a project objective to a business structure. Since the church no longer employed Mr and Mrs Eland, they needed to generate an income.

They started by training 3 women for 6 weeks in their home. The women were paid a percentage of the sale of the beads. More women were taught how to make paper beads from old magazines. These women received R10 for every box (about ten by eight centimeters and six centimeters deep), which they filled with the paper beads. Later, as the business grew, the price increased. They now get R25 per box. There are currently ten women in the Kayamandi community that make these beads for Vuka Creativity.

The 3 women that made the jewelry diminished to 1 during the winter season, because the market was so bad. Although Mr and Mrs Eland would have liked to pay salaries, they were not prepared to carry the burden of a depressing market and so only paid the ladies per bead item that was sold. It was also a strong incentive for a larger turnover.

In April 2001 Mr and Mrs Eland moved their business from their house into a development built by the municipality for small businesses, for which they pay rent. These premises are very small (about thirty squared meters), too small to accommodate other forms of art. For instance, Vuka Creativity attracts other artists who can contribute to the business. At the moment they have a welder helping to make beads, but he has no space to weld. The business would like to use his skills effectively.

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<sup>102</sup> As part of the Maties foreign student exchange programme, the students are given the option of visiting Kayamandi and helping with some projects. Most of the students that visit Prochorus want to help them. They take a certain amount of beads back to their home country and sell them there. This means of selling beads to the foreign market also cancels out the problem of transporting them. Once a relationship is established and the foreigner is selling the beads regularly, Prochorus sends more beads to them through other visitors, avoiding having to pay for the postage of the beads. Interestingly, most of the students that visit the project have already met other students who sell stock for Prochorus overseas.



Mr and Mrs Eland decided to develop their own market. The beginning was slow, but they have managed to secure a steady flow of income. Vuka Creativity sells their stock at local markets such as Hout Bay, the Neelsie, Stellenbosch, Franschoek, the Spier Festival, which runs over the Christmas period and the North Sea Jazz Festival<sup>103</sup>. It currently has no foreign market.

Vuka Creativity also runs a pottery and bead making division on a wine farm outside Stellenbosch<sup>104</sup>. Mr and Mrs Eland have employed a potter and beads lady to work on the premises full time. They pay these two employees a weekly wage. Visitors can visit the centre and watch how Andile (last name unknown), the potter, throws a pot on the wheel and how Jewly (last name unknown) makes bead necklaces and bracelets.

### ***Community Learning Centres' Arts and Culture Association***

The Community Learning Centres' Arts and Culture Association was part of the Community Learning Centre that offered adult education training, due to the high illiteracy rate among adults in Kayamandi. In 1992 Faith Booie started teaching literacy and communication subjects to adults at the High School in Kayamandi, at which the Learning Centre is based. It bothered Faith Booie that even though the adults, who were mostly women, were receiving an education they were still unemployed. In 1999 Faith Booie decided to start an Arts and Culture association for these adults to teach them skills that could help with an income. Faith and Beauty Ntnko volunteered to teach the group. Faith Booie started teaching them bead work and, Beauty, taught them how to sew.

Prospects grew for the group when they began to sell their work. Faith Booie managed to organise a display area in the Stellenbosch tourist office from which they could sell their items. They also decided to expand their skill and teach the ladies pottery and textile painting. Unfortunately, after working at the school for only a year, the school principal decided to no longer make the school available for the project. Consequently, the project lay dormant for a year.

Faith Booie is on the Kayamandi tourism committee and recognises the need for cultural activities like art to practise one's culture for development. At the beginning of 2002 she introduced this as a subject with the hope of inspiring the group to be entrepreneurial, especially with tourism in mind. Consequently the group wants to resume its arts activities.

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<sup>103</sup> The North Sea Jazz Festival is a weekend festival, normally over the Easter weekend, where international jazz artists gather in Cape Town to play jazz.

<sup>104</sup> The wine farm, DelVera, is about ten kilometers outside Stellenbosch. The farm caters predominantly for tourists. It has a nursery, restaurant, cheese factory, wine cellar and Vuka Creativity.



## **5.4 CONCLUSION**

This chapter has dealt with the findings from the research material with reference to the artists and their work. Summaries of the artists and the artists' households, the artists and their visual art products, and the various visual art projects and groups have been provided. No deductions have been made from this material so far. Findings from the research continue into the next chapter, Chapter 6, where the material will also be analysed.



## CHAPTER 6

### The Use of Visual Art for Community Development, a Kayamandi Perspective

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to establish whether visual art is contributing to the development of Kayamandi, and to make recommendations to improve the use of visual art for development in Kayamandi.

This is done by, firstly, outlining the views of residents and artists about the use of visual art for the development of Kayamandi. Subsequently, a criticism on these views is outlined. Then a critical investigation is done on whether or not the visual art groups, defined in the previous chapter, use visual art effectively to promote community development. Thirdly, residents' and artists' views about the need for a community arts centre; possible venues that could be used as an arts centre and how an arts centre could contribute to the use of visual art for community development is discussed. Lastly, recommendations are made about how to sustain artists, visual art projects and an arts centre in Kayamandi. These recommendations are mainly by means of support (financial and networking) and community participation.

#### 6.2 VIEWS OF RESIDENTS AND ARTISTS ABOUT THE USE OF VISUAL ART FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF KAYAMANDI

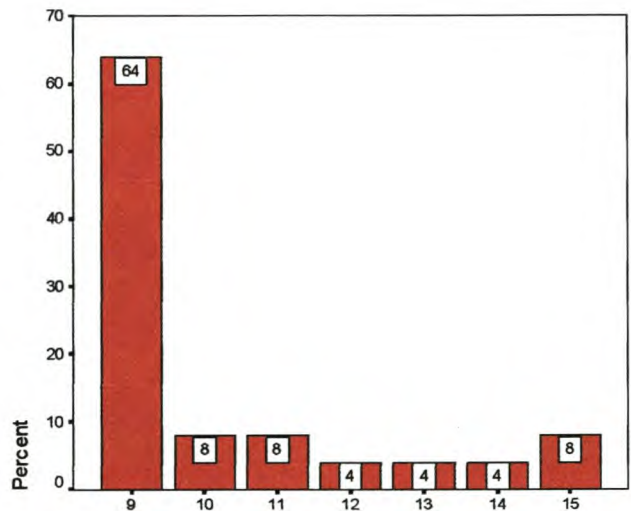
Quantitative and qualitative data was collected from artists and residents of Kayamandi about their perception on the use of visual art for the development of Kayamandi. Firstly, the quantitative results from the survey (Questionnaire 2A, Appendix 2) are presented in *Graph 10* and only include the opinions of the artists. Then the qualitative discussions that took place around the issue of visual art and development, which was recorded from the focus groups and other informal interviews are presented. Some of this data will be supported by statistics gathered from the survey. With reference to the contribution that visual art makes to the development of Kayamandi's environment: a discussion on a mural painted in Kayamandi has been included.



### 6.2.1 Quantitative Perceptions of Artists in Kayamandi on the Use of Visual Art for Development

The 25 artists that were interviewed were asked whether they thought that visual art could develop Kayamandi. They were given nine options of possible developmental avenues. These options are presented alongside *Graph 10*. The vertical axis shows the percentage, while the horizontal axis shows the numbers that were selected according to the list next to the graph.

1. Helping to keep the community clean
2. Fighting crime
3. Creating jobs
4. Developing skills
5. Giving people hope and encouragement
6. Restoring people's self-respect
7. Giving people the opportunity to start their own business
8. Making art in Kayamandi will encourage tourism
9. All of the above
10. All of the above except cleaning Kayamandi
11. All of the above except preventing crime
12. It can only clean the community, create jobs, restore self-respect and encourage tourism
13. It can only clean community, prevent crime, create jobs, self-respect and tourism
14. All of the above except developing skills
15. Other



**Graph 11: Percentage of Respondents Choice (nos 9-15)**

The majority of the artists (64%) were optimistic about all of the possibilities presented to them (nos. 1-8). Artists were the most unsure about the use of visual art in Kayamandi to encourage cleanliness and discourage crime (nos. 1, 2). This correlates with the qualitative discussion held in the focus groups where, even though the majority felt that the use of visual art could help against crime and keep Kayamandi clean, some were unsure.

### 6.2.2 The Use of Visual Art for the Development of the Individual by Building their Self-Esteem, Restoring their Hope, Encouragement, and Self-Respect

Sylvia, from the original Siyazakha sewing group, stated that she found that making visual art was very rewarding. She added that it was very fulfilling to make something from beginning to end and the sewing group had given her hope. A few women, in the women's focus group,



said that making visual art was much better than sitting at home doing nothing (WFG). Another woman mentioned that she enjoyed making visual art because it came from the heart (WFG).

This kind of developmental effect is psychological - mentally and emotionally, more than a physical effect, hence it is very hard to measure. When artists were asked whether they thought the production of visual art developed the individual's self-esteem and restored their hope, most felt that people's confidence increased through making visual art, because they had the opportunity to sell their work and earn money. For instance, one respondent suggested how visual art could restore people's self-worth and dignity through employment:

Let's say I am sewing in the hostel, because that is where I stay. And I start selling and making money. Then I see that there is someone in the hostel that is suffering from lack of food. I can give her food in exchange for her helping me with my sewing, like folding the fabric. In this way it will restore our self-respect (FG1).

### **6.2.3 The Use of Visual Art to Help Prevent Crime**

Respondents in focus groups felt that the use of visual art could curb crime in two areas. Firstly by keeping criminals busy. A respondent said that, "Most of the criminals commit crimes because they are not doing anything else. If you can include them in learning how to make art, they will be busy, with no time to commit crimes" (FG2). The second reason was that visual art creates jobs and hence there would be less crime. "In Kayamandi the amount of people that are unemployed is very high, so if there are art workshops, then there will be less crime, because these people will have a skill to make money" (FG2).

### **6.2.4 The Use of Visual Art to Improve Kayamandi's Environment**

In Chapter 3 (3.2.3) it is stated that participation in visual art could aid in the preservation of the environment by creating a sense of respect for the environment and a need to maintain and preserve it. Visual art could also improve the environment by making it look more attractive. An example was discussed in Chapter 3, on how Nudain Mabusa decorated the rocks on the farm where he lived (*Illustration 3.2 and 3.3*). Murals can also brighten up the environment, such as the mural recently painted in Kayamandi to promote the use of contraception to avoid aids (3.2.2). This mural functions mainly as a communicative tool. Another mural in Kayamandi is very popular for its decorative purpose, namely the Kayamandi Mural.



### ***Kayamandi Mural***

There are many murals painted in Kayamandi. Some appear as adverts for hairstylists and spazas. The most prominent mural in Kayamandi is painted on a vibacrete wall on the boundary between Kayamandi and the R304<sup>105</sup>. It was painted in August/September 1994 by a group of school children from the Stellenbosch community. The communities' feeling about the mural was also taken into account. Five hundred questionnaires were handed out. The result was overwhelmingly positive (Burnett 1994: 1).

The Kayamandi mural serves as a "community bonding project" (Burnett 1994: 1) to promote peace, hope and a secure future<sup>106</sup>. The objective of the mural was to allow all the schools from Stellenbosch to participate and "join hands and set an example of human relationships to the wider community in Stellenbosch" (Burnett 1994: 1). The South African National Gallery gave the following comment on the use of a mural to bring people together as well as creating awareness for the environment:

Painting a mural is an appropriate project to develop contact between diverse groups, to instill a feeling of pride in the makers, and to give a message from the children of the area to the thousands of motorists who drive past the wall every day...we feel that it gives us a chance to contribute towards creating an awareness of children's hopes and dreams, to teach children about their rights in a future in which we hope for equity and justice for all...[and] to beautify their environment, and in so doing to take pride in caring for the environment in which they live (SA National Gallery 1994: 1).

The theme of the mural is Children's Hopes and Dreams for the Future. It was chosen by the children. The committee felt that "this will allow us an opportunity to discuss issues of Children's Rights with the groups participating in the project as well as allowing the children to voice their feelings about the future, at a time when our country is in a stage of transition" (South African National Gallery 1994).

### ***Cleanliness***

The use of the environment to make visual art and how it could aid in clean-up programmes, was discussed in Chapter 3. A similar discussion about the role of visual art in improving the cleanliness of Kayamandi arose in many of the focus group discussions. Respondents suggested that scrap materials, like bottles and plastic (FG2), could be recycled and used to make art products. Respondents also suggested that because art attracted tourists, people in Kayamandi would be encouraged to keep their area clean. "If tourists come to Kayamandi to

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<sup>105</sup> The R304 is a main road that runs between Stellenbosch and the N1 and Malmesbury.

<sup>106</sup> The mural was painted soon after possibly Kayamandi's most restless time. In 1993, when Chris Hani (whose family resided in Kayamandi) was killed, Kayamandi was thrown into turmoil. The youth of Kayamandi took the law into their own hands and barricaded the entrance to Kayamandi with tyres. Everything appeared to be burning, even the streets.



see art, you will clean the front of your place and then you will influence your neighbour to clean the front of his place too. You never know when the tourist is coming, so you will always keep it clean" (FG2).

One focus group, however, was doubtful about the suggestion that visual art could clean up a community. "It is impossible. You cannot tell your neighbour to clean his place. He will tell you to mind your own business that you must take care of your own business and not tell him what to do. This is why it is not possible. This could cause a war. The people will say, "This is my yard, don't tell me what to do" (FG4).

### **6.2.5 The Use of Visual Art for Economic Development in Kayamandi**

As established earlier, respondents were positive that the production of visual art could restore self-respect and confidence, because people could earn money by making visual art. They did not associate it to the actual process of making visual art. The economic benefit of making visual art is the most prominent incentive for those who make art in Kayamandi.

As mentioned, in 1999 only 60% of the Kayamandi community was employed. Job creation is at the top of development needs in Kayamandi. The majority of the respondents felt that visual art could play a prominent role in developing Kayamandi through job creation. They also felt that visual art could have a snowball effect on development in Kayamandi, in that once one artist is successful in his/her work others could catch on and also practise visual art. "If someone makes art and sells it, it could encourage the others as well...And so the community will develop out of poverty" (FG1).

#### ***Income Earned by Artists from Visual Art Products***

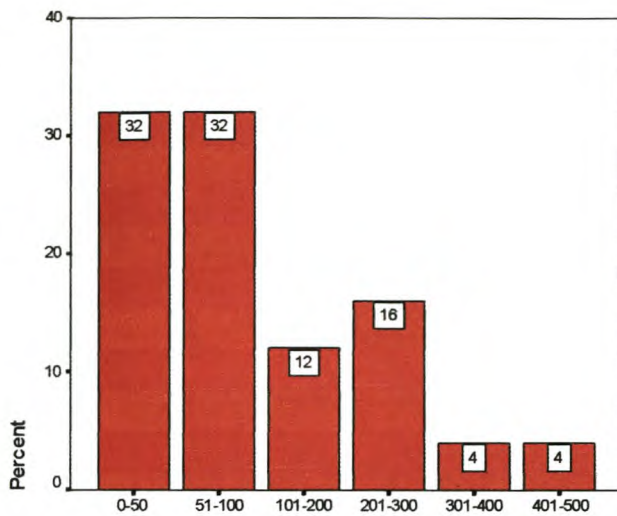
All the artists state that they sell their products<sup>107</sup>. The cheapest product, a hemp bracelet, was sold for R3,50, while the most expensive was a pine cupboard for R800.

*Graph 11* shows the dispersion of the average amounts that artists sold their products for. The lowest monthly income earned by artists is R20. This seems very low but artists sell their work inconsistently. The highest monthly income earned by artists from their visual art products is R2 500 per month. Most artists earn less than R250 per month. The dispersion of artists' earnings per month is illustrated in *Graph 12*.

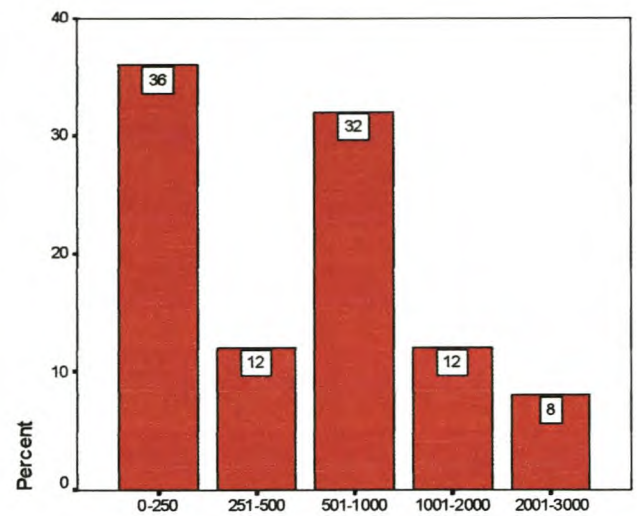
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<sup>107</sup> It was difficult to deduce how much artists sell their products for because many artists sell more than one product at different prices, like those who make beads, furniture and clothing.

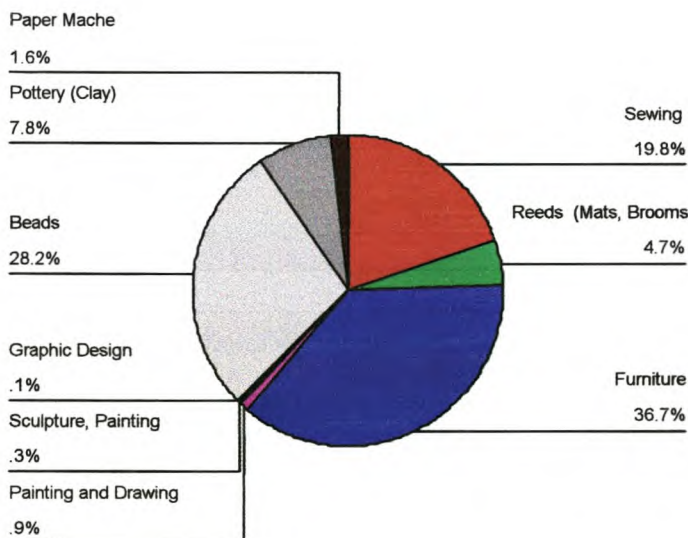




**Graph 11: Dispersion of Average Cost of Visual Art Products**



**Graph 12: Dispersion of Monthly Income of Artists from Visual Art**



**Graph 13: Sum of Artists Earnings Per Month According to Type of Visual Art Produced**

Graph 13 shows what percentage of the sum of artists' earnings per month is attributed to the type of visual art made. This gives an idea of what type of visual art produced, earns the most income. For instance, the artist who earns R2 500 per month is a furniture maker. A comparative look at earnings per month and the type of visual art made shows that those that make furniture earn the most per month, between R2 000 and R2 500. They earn the largest portion of the total earnings of artists per month at 36.7%.

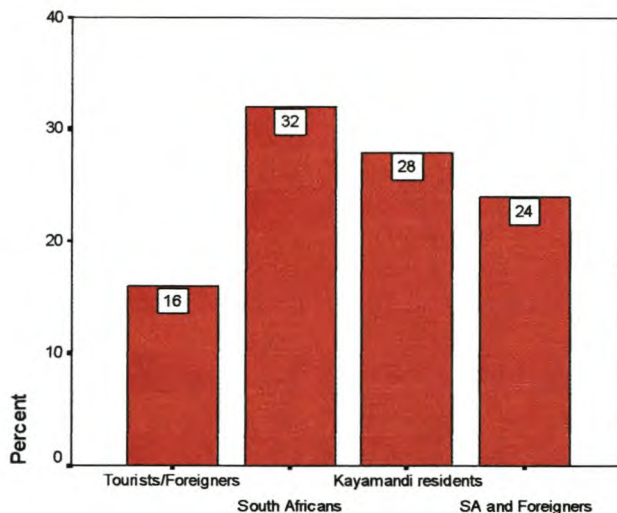
Graph 13 shows that the finer arts, like painting and sculpture do not have a good sales rate. bead work, sewing and furniture earn the Kayamandi artists the highest income.

In order to reap the financial rewards of making visual art products, a market needs to be in place. Kayamandi residents are very confident about opportunities for selling their work. FG2 was asked, "What if someone teaches the people art, but then the people cannot sell their



art?" The response was that this was not possible and that people would "try and try until they find a market" (FG2).

76% of the artists that were interviewed, sell their work. 20% stated that they sell and give their work away. Only 4 % do not sell their work. *Graph 14* shows who buys the Kayamandi artists' work.



As can be seen from *Graph 14*, Kayamandi's main market for selling its visual art is local, but almost 40% of the rest of the market are tourists and foreigners.

*Graph 14: Type of People Buying Visual Art in Kayamandi*

### 6.2.6 The Use of Visual Art to Attract Tourism to Kayamandi

Most of the artists' work is sold from their homes, where at least 50% of the tourists and foreigners buy their visual art products. This indicates that tourists visit Kayamandi and invest in it by spending at Kayamandi. Focus groups agreed that making and selling visual art attracts tourists to Kayamandi. Tourists, according to residents, bring with them hope for artistic development.

Say for instance you are making art and a tourist comes from overseas and buys it and takes it back overseas. This could result in you being able to sell overseas, because the people overseas want to buy it. You must come up with something different so that you can sell to overseas tourists and get those contacts. You must also give your address when you sell your art so that they can contact you to make more art (FG1).

## 6.3 A CRITICAL LOOK AT RESEARCH RESULTS CONCERNED WITH HOW VISUAL ART CAN BE USED TO DEVELOP KAYAMANDI

Artists and residents in Kayamandi stated that visual art could contribute to keeping the community clean, the prevention of crime, the creation of jobs, the development of skills, boosting people's self-respect, giving people the opportunity to start their own business, and encouraging tourism. The most prominent reason was that it could create jobs. This is the



most basic need of the Kayamandi community and therefore the most important. According to Kayamandi residents and artists, if making visual art does not put food on the table then it does not develop. 64% of the artists interviewed stated that they sustained their families on their earnings from producing visual art.

Most of the artists and those working for visual art projects sell their work to tourists. They see tourism as a solution and welcome its financial rewards. Tourism creates jobs and has steadily increased over the last ten years<sup>108</sup>. Since the fall of apartheid, conscious efforts have been made to direct tourism toward the previously disadvantaged areas such as townships<sup>109</sup>. Tourists can visit townships by taking a taxi, eating traditional food, purchasing arts and crafts produced by the township residents and even staying over in a Bed and Breakfast, to experience the culture.

History and culture are increasingly being viewed as assets that communities own. They can be marketed in a way that creates jobs and attracts investment, thereby combating the country's most pressing problems - joblessness and underdevelopment...(Kaplan 1999:1).

Stellenbosch, excluding Cape Town, is the most common tourist destination in the Western Cape<sup>110</sup>. The possibility that any of these tourists have visited Kayamandi in 1992 is slight, but with the changes in South Africa and a growing interest among tourists to visit townships, a group of individuals in Stellenbosch "are seeking to fill that gap in the tourist experience of South Africa, by offering what they term, Alternative Cultural Tourism" (Nowacki 2001: 4). A member of the group stated that, "We want to take the tourists to where people have suffered for decades in this country - outside the traditional upper class towns - to the townships where people are still suffering and poverty is still rife" (Nowacki 2001: 4). The Development Desk at the Stellenbosch Tourist Bureau also decided to establish Kayamandi as a Tourist destination

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<sup>108</sup> "The World Travel and Tourism Council estimates that in employment terms, tourism is the world's largest industry providing 255 million jobs (one in nine workers globally)" (Futter and Wood 1997b: 49). Over the last decade overseas tourism has more than tripled in South Africa. Today tourism is a strong contributor to South Africa's economy. Research shows that for every 30 additional tourists visiting Southern Africa, a direct job opportunity can be created as well as another two indirect opportunities (Brandt 1994: 83).

<sup>109</sup> Tourism, according to the 1996 White Paper on Tourism South Africa, "will be used as a development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities" (White Paper on Tourism South Africa 1996: 22 quoted in Hattin and Hagg 1997: 11).

<sup>110</sup> "It is estimated that approximately 156 000 people visited Stellenbosch as a holiday destination (excluding day visitors) in 1992 of which 13% (20 834 people) were from overseas. The total number of people visiting Stellenbosch per year (including day visitors) is estimated to be 1.12 million" (Kayamandi 1996: Appendix 1: 28).



making it part of the Stellenbosch tours<sup>111</sup>. So far the tours through Kayamandi have directly created a few jobs<sup>112</sup>.

Tourism provides a market for artists and visual art projects in Kayamandi. Prochorus, for instance, relies completely on overseas tourists. But there are some disadvantages to commercialising visual art. These disadvantages have already been discussed [mostly in Chapter 1 (1.5.5)]. The main concern for producing visual art to meet the needs of the market and tourists is that the art product is compromised. Mass production removes the authentic stamp that visual art works carry. Another concern is the effect that it has on the development of the artists: mass production reinstates the repetitiveness of the division of labour and consequently visual art loses its creativeness.

Kayamandi artists make visual art firstly to make money; the enjoyment of the visual art plays a subordinate role. It is therefore possible that they will react favourably to an influx of tourists and mass production. However, they will be denying themselves the gratification of working creatively with visual art, as opposed to laboriously reproducing products for sale. People need to be empowered to start producing visual art that they enjoy as well as visual art that they can market.

## **6.4 A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE VISUAL ART PROJECTS AND GROUPS IN KAYAMANDI**

This section will, firstly, comment individually on the various groups. Then a discussion on whether or not the groups are promoting community development principles is laid out.

### **6.4.1 Siyazakha**

Sylvia can be considered to be a good example of a community developer or worker. She recognised the needs of the people and what could be done to meet those needs. She called the people together and motivated them to participate in developing themselves through their abilities to sew. The group of women participated in the development of the project from the onset and its success depended as much on them as it did on Sylvia; they were equal partners in the project. They all contributed to its initiation (R30) and all had to be in

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<sup>111</sup> The Stellenbosch Tourist Bureau felt they needed to make the community aware of tourism and find out if they were interested in having tourists in Kayamandi. They did awareness programmes of the Kayamandi High School and also had a survey. The result of the survey was that the community was interested in having tourists visit Kayamandi, only if it created jobs. The Bureau then established a working committee in Kayamandi to represent the community and therefore create a link between the Tourism Bureau and Kayamandi.

<sup>112</sup> One lady has opened a Bed and Breakfast. A few other ladies also cook traditional food for tourists now. Tourists also visit an elderly gentleman who was a political prisoner on Robben Island and loves to tell his story.



agreement before any action was taken. They also had equal responsibility; one of the women was responsible for the money and another was the secretary who kept records of everything, including absentees<sup>113</sup>. The participation and commitment of the group became even more evident when none of the women took any earnings home from the project for the first six to eight months. They re-invested all the earnings into the project by purchasing materials and other needs.

The sewing group's name, Siyazakha, means "we are building ourselves". This name is representative of what these women were doing. The women learnt to take charge of their own lives and decided to solve their own problems. Sylvia said that although the project was not yet financially rewarding and in its beginning stages, it was rewarding in other ways: they had started a business and were managing it together, which made them proud and encouraged them. A volunteer stated that she enjoyed working with the group, because they were unmistakably self-motivated and trusted each other.

### ***The New Siyazakha***

Although the project depends on the volunteers that train the group and no longer on the group itself, and hence the participatory advantages that were previously at work are no longer encouraged, the project does promote other community development principles.

People are empowered by means of skills to make products and sell them from home. It is expected from those who intend attending the sewing project, to enroll for the business course at the Bergsig Training Centre as part of the project. This is to empower the people to start a business of their own from the sewing skills which they are taught. In the previous venue, many came back to use the equipment, like the sewing machines, because they did not have them at home. (This was because the ladies were allowed to take whatever they had sewn at the project home). But since they do not have the extra space the people that have received training are now forced to work at home for their income and become less dependent on the project. This is advantageous, because should the project disintegrate, they would still be able to sustain themselves.

Another community development principle is that the people from the community, who are taught these various sewing skills, are expected to help the volunteers train the next cycle of trainees. They are also required to teach members of their community. This is necessary, because people need to start empowering their own communities so that the volunteers can eventually stop teaching. This principle is already set into action at Cloetesville. The

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<sup>113</sup> These were skills that Sylvia taught the group, because she did a basic bookkeeping course many years ago.



volunteers have already identified five ladies, who have done the sewing course and produced quality work, to begin teaching in their community.

#### **6.4.2 Prochorus, Vuka Creativity and Masifundi Hemp Bracelets**

Prochorus, Vuka Creativity and Masifundi Hemp Bracelets have created jobs for women and men in Kayamandi. This may be a drop in the ocean compared to the amount of unemployed people in Kayamandi, but none of these projects intend employing more people until they are sure that their projects can support more employees. If the projects disintegrated these men and women would still have the necessary skills to continue to produce visual art products. However, they do not have the business skills and contacts that the project leader has to market the products. This is unfortunate, in that if the leader of the project should leave, their financial stability would not be assured. This is the case with most business-like projects. The employees learn a skill, but the project does not belong to them and they are not empowered to do it for themselves; someone else dictates to them.

#### **6.4.3 Community Learning Centres' Arts and Culture Association**

The same criticism could be applied to this arts and culture project. If the leaders of the project should leave, would the group continue without them? Fortunately for this group, Faith Booi is aware of this problem that so frequently occurs in community development projects. She states that ultimately the group must be able to sustain itself without her leadership. Another safety net for the continuation of this group is its association with the Community Learning Centre. The chances that the centre will discontinue its classes are slimmer than the chances that the arts and culture project will disintegrate. Although the arts and culture department was discontinued for a while, there is always hope that it will be fanned back into flame, because its members still continue to meet for adult education classes.

#### **6.4.4 Community Development Principles Promoted through the Projects**

Most of these projects are totally reliant on the middleman, who pays people to produce visual art products and then resells them. Once this person leaves, the project could terminate. These types of projects do not belong to the people, they are only a means of employment. Their developmental contribution is to create jobs.

Employment, which was discussed in Chapter 3, has its positive and negative effects, both of which we could be seen at work in some of these projects. As Professor Jehoda pointed out, employment offers social contact, discipline, and status by being employed and earning



money (Stark 1976: 26). On the down side, the negative effects of employment are also present.

The big question concerning these projects and whether they are in fact promoting development is: if development creates dependency could it be development? As previously discussed in Chapter 2, participation is a key element in development, because it empowers people. Participation is ultimately a process by which the community internalises the goal of the project. This was beginning to happen in Siyazakha, because the women invested in the project themselves. They contributed to getting the project started and sacrificed a salary for a while to keep the business going. They were there from the onset and were inspired by Sylvia, a fellow community member who could identify with their culture and poverty.

If development creates dependency then people's participation is dictated to them. This kind of participation would not lead to the empowerment of community members. Many of these projects are run like businesses and businesses are a dictatorship with financial rewards. Few of the projects discussed fulfill a community development role according to the principles discussed in Chapter 2. This is because community development aims to develop the person holistically, not just financially. Most of these projects only empower economically. Organising a group of ladies to methodically produce a string of beads one after the other is partial development; it stumps the creative possibilities that visual art has to develop a person and secondly, it recreates industrialisation's division-of-labour-syndrome. Therefore, visual art as a product of repetitive labour does not have a stimulating effect on its creator if produced under these circumstances. As quoted from Hagg earlier (Chapter 5) "[t]he repetitiveness of industrial production has a negative effect on especially the labourer's experience of the work context...The repetitiveness of labour necessitates an antidote in the form of stimulation on other levels" (1991: 6).

A social worker in Kayamandi, stressed that development should come from within the community. The people should want to develop independently of any outside influence. Projects that the social worker had been involved in, failed every time someone from outside the community tried to initiate it. As soon as the outsider lost interest, the project failed because the community was not motivated. This is why the social worker was confident about Siyazakha, because the women decided that they wanted to sew independently of any outside motivation. Only then did they look for assistance. The social worker articulates Burkey's "golden rule ... *Don't do anything for people that they can do for themselves*" (1993: 211).

Visual art projects must not create dependency. Those who wish to initiate visual art development projects should simply encourage people and aid them. They should not take



complete ownership and should ultimately hand over the project to the community. Visual art projects should continuously encourage artists to present new creative options to what they are currently producing. Artists should not produce only one product, which they know sells to the market. Instead, they should try to create variations and other items.

## **6.5 ART CENTRES**

First the situation concerning community arts centres is discussed. An outline of community members' expressed needs for a centre and possible venues that could be used as a community arts centre is provided. This is followed by a recommendation for an art centre in Kayamandi and how it can improve the use of visual arts for development.

### **6.5.1 The Expressed Need for a Community Arts Centre**

There is a great need expressed by Kayamandi artists for the use of a 'hall' or 'centre'. Respondents, who were interviewed, felt that a persistent problem that they experience was a need for space in which to work, since most of them were working at home. "They work in front of their houses, this is another problem, because when it rains they have no shelter under which to work" (FG4).

Some suggested that if Kayamandi had a hall where artists could work together and teach others, it would also aid development: "If we could have a big hall where people make art then those that do not do anything can learn from those in the hall and do something for themselves" (FG1). Respondents also felt that if such a hall were available it would be beneficial for productivity. They added that artists would encourage one another when teaching visual art<sup>114</sup>. A centre could also promote tourism and marketing because all the visual art forms are accessible in one hall. Tourists and other visitors could purchase art works and watch how they are made.

Of the artists that were interviewed, 32% were keen to work, under any condition, in a community arts building in which they could make their visual art product. 56% were also interested in working together with other artists, but only under certain conditions. These circumstances are: that they did not want to pay rent, that the building should be in Kayamandi,

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<sup>114</sup> 48% of the artists who were interviewed were willing to teach their art skills under any conditions. 24% of the artists were willing to teach their art skills if they got paid for it. 28% were willing to teach their skills in exchange for being taught a skill, being provided with a space in which to make their art and if they had the time available to teach.



and that someone should market their products for them. 88% of the artists were willing to help organise an arts building in Kayamandi.

Visual art projects in Kayamandi, like Siyazakha and the Community Learning Centre's Arts Association, also suffered because of the lack of an adequate venue in which to operate.

### **6.5.2 Venues Currently Being Made Available in Kayamandi as Community Arts Centres**

#### ***Legacy Community Centre***

An organisation, called Legacy<sup>115</sup> arranged to build a Community Centre in Kayamandi. The centre will be built on an open piece of land in Kayamandi, behind the clinic on the hill. The municipality has given the land for the construction of the centre and will also service the centre for free and supply free water. The centre will start with a section for the Aids department, a soup kitchen, gymnasium and two conference rooms. Later, as more funds become available, more sections could be added on.

#### ***The Trust Centre (Beer Hall)***

The building of a new centre is very favourable. However, Kayamandi has a hall that was built in the 1940's by the Bantu Development Board. It was used as a tavern and called the Beer Hall. Like most of the entertainment and recreation facilities built at that time, it was used as a mechanism of control by the state. In 1991, the tavern was closed down due to political unrest. It was finally reopened in April 2002 by the Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust<sup>116</sup>.

Presently the Trust wants to open a soup kitchen in the centre. Their next priority is to set up an Aids-help area and an advice office with a lawyer to help with human rights management. The Trust would also like to set up a museum, gallery, restaurant/coffee shop and skills training facility for tourists. The Trust hopes to make the centre (or part of it) a tourist attraction.

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<sup>115</sup> Two pastors, one from the Kayamandi Baptist Church and the other from Stellenbosch Gemeente Kerk formed an organisation called *Legacy*.

<sup>116</sup> Near the beginning of 2001, a businesswoman from Stellenbosch and a member of the Kayamandi community met and decided to see how they could help Kayamandi. They formed a Trust called the Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust. The trust now has six members from the Kayamandi and Stellenbosch community. In April 2002 the Trust purchased the Beer Hall in Kayamandi.



### **6.5.3 How an Arts Centre in Kayamandi could Contribute to Community Development**

The most important role of a community arts centre, as established in Chapter 4, is access and accessibility. An art centre could make more people in the Kayamandi community aware of visual art and it could be more accessible and available to them. It could help to create an atmosphere in which artists could learn from one another and encourage one another to be more creative.

Some artists who work at home are not included in visits from tourists. At the moment Prochorus has decided to invite some of the artists to display their work at their facility in order to help them gain exposure and sell their products to tourists. Kayamandi's artists, projects and shebeens, where tourists can stop for a drink, are dispersed throughout Kayamandi. Ideally a community arts centre would solve this problem. Individual artists could work and sell their products in the centre, while tourists refresh themselves. Traditional dancing and singing could also be performed for tourists in such a centre.

## **6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SUSTAINABILITY OF VISUAL ARTS IN KAYAMANDI**

With development comes the important issue of sustainability. If a project is not able to sustain itself, it will not survive. One important need for the sustainability of a project is finances. It was concluded in the discussion on the economic issues around visual art production and art centres, with particular reference to tourism and the commercialisation of visual art, that the need to market visual art has some negative effects on artists and their visual art. However, Kayamandi artists view tourism favourably, and produce visual art mainly to satisfy their financial need. One cannot deny anyone this basic need, not even for the sake of visual art, however, sustainability does not depend on economic issues alone. There are other factors that need to be considered when referring to sustainability. In order for projects and artists to sustain themselves they need support from each other, the community and other sources.

Added to this is the need for community participation. As discussed above, most of the visual art projects in Kayamandi would disintegrate once the leader(s) of the project leave. The effectiveness of a development project can therefore be measured by its ability to continue to develop. A project has a better chance to continue if it belongs to the community, not to the leader of the project. These social dimensions - community participation and support - play a vital role in the sustainability of visual art projects and centres in Kayamandi.



### 6.6.1 Sustainability of Artists, Art Projects and Art Centres in Kayamandi

Most of the artists stated that they had difficulty with their customers not paying them. The customers would make a verbal agreement with the artist to pay them a certain amount of money per month and in so doing pay off the item. Unfortunately, the customers often do not pay the artist the monthly sum that they promised.

In FG3 one of the respondents commented that another problem was that artists did not put money, which they had earned from their visual art, back into their business. Instead they bought food and fulfilled other basic needs, with the result that they were unable to make orders because they had not bought materials.

Nokwanda has been sewing in her house for about 10 years. The problems that she faces are that people take the articles that she made for them, but do not pay her. When the people do pay her she buys food; she does not buy more material and cotton, which she needs for sewing (FG3).

#### ***Sustainability by means of Support Structures***

Focus groups rate the lack of support structures as the main reason why artists in Kayamandi are not developing in skill and marketing. 96% of the artists interviewed wanted more training in art skills and business management. FG4 suggested that visual art could only develop you "if you have contact with people who can help and support you." Another respondent said, "Even if there is someone with art talent he is going nowhere with it, because there is no one to encourage or develop the talent".

There are various initiatives set up by local government to offer business skills training for these people, like the Stellenbosch Business and Learning Centre. Maties Gemeenskaps dienste also offers entrepreneurial courses. People are unfortunately not aware that these services are available to them.

The national government has also established support structures like the Cape Craft and Design Institute (CCDI), which offers a means by which visual art projects and individual artists can network with the rest of the Western Cape. It is an initiative from the Western Cape government to support crafters in the Western Cape. According to a craft audit on Western Cape crafters, conducted in July 2000<sup>117</sup>, the following areas required attention to sufficiently support crafters.

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<sup>117</sup> The Department of Economic Affairs, Agriculture and Tourism commissioned the Audit on behalf of the Craft Sector Partnership. "The brief was to collect basic data about the existing industry and develop a strategic framework that utilises and adds value to existing craft activities, assets and resources" (Kromberg and Elk 2000: 5).



1. Product development
2. Marketing support
3. Finance
4. Business development and mentoring support
5. Skills training
6. Access to retail outlets
7. Information sharing
8. Access to raw materials
9. School & youth training
10. Co-ordination and networking (Kromberg and Elk 2000: 7-8).

Prochorus is one project that benefited from the Cape Craft and Design Institute: The Prochorus project leader collaborated with another project leader, who they met at the institution (CCDI). They decided to sell their stock at markets together, because their products complemented one another. Consequently, Prochorus sold most of their stock<sup>118</sup>.

### ***Sustainability by means of Community Participation***

Hagg wrote that "Community arts centres can only function, and survive with support from the immediate community and outside partners" (Hagg 2001a: 61). In the *Report on a National Audit of Community Arts Centres of South Africa*, the problem of community participation came down to whether or not their representatives were representing them.

...Government considers stakeholders from the municipality and province, e.g. councillors, as community representatives. For example, KZN [KwaZulu Natal] councillors insisted that their democratic representatives ensured that the centres remained accessible to all people, not only a few art lovers. The question remains whether councillors represent the community adequately? The same applies to local organisations: when are they representative of the broader community, and do they have to be fully representative in order to be involved in decision-making? (Hagg and Selepe 2002: 31).

The report found that in many cases community participation was minimal because they were not interested in assisting, unless they were co-responsible for a project. In many areas the role of the community was not clearly defined. "In some cases local government considers the role of community organisations as advisory, in line with IDP participation. However, such a position is not easily accepted by organisations that have been involved in the establishment of a centre" (Hagg and Selepe 2002: 31).

According to the report, another problem that inhibited the involvement of the community was division within the community. This resulted in management disregarding advice from a particular segment of the community, so as not to offend the another. The division of communities is a very real and pressing problem that, in Kayamandi, is greatly inhibiting development.

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<sup>118</sup> The other project makes paper in Kommetjie and managed to get a stall at the Spier festival. They invited Prochorus to join them and make beads at the stall. The beads were made from paper and while the ladies made the beads, they attracted the attention of the tourists to the stall. In this case both parties benefited. However, it is possible that some projects could take advantage of the less experienced project.



The segmentation of the Kayamandi community is mostly because of the political dynamics that drive the community. The community will tend not to get involved in initiatives, because of a fear of being taken advantage of, like in the days of apartheid. During the time of the political struggle community members also grouped against one another, causing further conflict and violence. Hence some members in the community do not have credibility with others and they still do not trust one another. For this reason, it is important that one carefully chooses whom to include from the community when trying to initiate a project. The Greater Stellenbosch Development Trust, for instance, could stand the risk of losing their credibility with the community because of three of their members who are from Kayamandi. Rationally, one would think that because half of the trust members are from Kayamandi, that they would have credibility. Unfortunately, since the community is segmented, the Trust stands the risk of losing a lot of support because these members could be viewed as supporters of a particular group in Kayamandi. In some cases in Kayamandi, once a project is underway and the community appears<sup>119</sup> to support it, someone - normally with a political agenda - will stand up and provoke the community to mistrust the initiators of the project.

The groups and organisations in Kayamandi have their own interests at heart and are competitive. When influential groups find out about projects and want to assist, it is frequently for their own self-gain and recognition. The result is usually that they ride the project until it suits them, possibly misusing the resources in the process. Another result could be that influential groups oppose the project. This could cause conflict, which will result in the abandonment of the project. The *Report on a National Audit of Community Arts Centres of South Africa* stated the following:

It is well-known from development studies that community involvement is a tricky negotiation process and involves power-struggles and lack of continuity. However, without representation by community-based organisations the link between the centres and their community may remain supply-based rather than needs-based (Hagg and Selepe 2002:37).

## 6.7 CONCLUSION

According to residents and artists in Kayamandi, the production of visual art could and is contributing to the development of Kayamandi. The use of visual art to aid the development of Kayamandi, may be a drop in the ocean, considering that only 0.4% of the total population in Kayamandi practise art. It is none the less 82 people who are growing, economically, socially and culturally from making visual art. If Kayamandi had an arts centre, this percentage would grow, because people would become aware of art. Residents and artists in Kayamandi also

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<sup>119</sup> It is often the case that the community has been consulted and have approved of the project, but later change their minds. Therefore they 'appear' to support the project when in fact they do not.



feel that the availability of an arts centre could make a substantial impact on the development of Kayamandi, because it could act as a tourist attraction and a place where artists can exchange skills. There are currently two possibilities for an art venue in Kayamandi: The Greater Stellenbosch Trust Centre and the Legacy Community Centre.

Kayamandi residents and artists value the economic benefits of visual art as the strongest incentive for visual art production. The contribution that tourism makes to this factor is substantial. Most artists are able to sustain their families through the production of visual art. Visual art projects also value the economic benefits of visual art over other benefits. This is sometimes detrimental to the holistic development of individuals. Visual art should develop individuals holistically, bringing cultural and social development, not just economic relief. It should stimulate creative thinking rather than repetitive labour.

Initiating a visual art project in Kayamandi could be challenging, considering the political tension in the community. If it is undertaken, the developer should ensure that the project belongs to the community and that a dictatorship and dependency is not created.

The sustainability of visual art projects is an important factor to consider. Community participation is necessary for the sustainability of visual art projects as well as visual arts in Kayamandi. Support structures should also be in place for artists, visual art groups and arts centres. Many development projects have been initiated in Kayamandi but did not exist for very long. If projects did not have such a short life span, perhaps the community would be more open and trusting to developmental projects.



## CONCLUSION

Kayamandi was subject to the detrimental effects of colonial acculturation and subjugation. Kayamandi's development, especially its social and cultural development, was discouraged during apartheid. Consequently, Kayamandi has become one of the many Black Townships in South Africa that suffer from human "poverties" (Max-Neef 1991:18).

Artists in Kayamandi also experienced the effects of colonial oppression. No art education was available, except for needlework. Most learnt from family and friends. Artists were only allowed to make certain products that did not depict any political scenes or encourage people to rise up against the government. Materials were hard to come by since Black South Africans were not allowed to move freely and sometimes their materials were confiscated or destroyed.

Kayamandi artists are eager for development; 96% of those that were interviewed asked for more development in art and business skills. In order to address the need for further development in Kayamandi, development should not follow the same path as colonialism. Development should be holistic, encouraging social, cultural and economic development of the individual and the community. Community development principles like participation, empowerment and cultural relativism should be promoted.

The relationship between visual art and community development is symbiotic. Community development promotes a holistic approach by means of participation, empowerment, and cultural relativism. Involvement in visual art aids community development, if these principles are in place, because visual art promotes holistic development. It encourages participation, promotes culture and empowers people by asserting them and giving them self-confidence.

Another area where visual art and community development share the same approach is with participation. Visual art and participation have similar effects on community development. Burkey, stated that participation "is an essential part of human growth, that is the development of self-confidence, pride initiative, creativity, responsibility, and cooperation" (1993: 56). The same can be said for the effect that the production of visual art has on human growth and development.

The contributions that visual art has made to the development of the Kayamandi community are numerous. Visual art contributed to their social, cultural and economic development. The production of visual art brightened up the community and built unity in Kayamandi when, for



instance, in 1994 schools from all over Stellenbosch united to design and paint a mural. For many unemployed residents in Kayamandi, visual art production has simulated an employment atmosphere, keeping people busy and away from the lure of crime. The production of visual art also encouraged self-confidence, because people experienced economic relief by selling their products and had the gratification of accomplishment from having made something.

Kayamandi residents and artists attribute most of visual art's developmental properties to its ability to create jobs and provide economic relief. However, this is one area where visual art can be detrimental to development. During colonial rule, economic development was promoted to the detriment of cultural and social development.

Whenever a country has set itself the target of economic growth without reference to its cultural environment, grave economic and cultural imbalances have resulted and its creative potential has been seriously weakened. Genuine development must be based on the best possible use of the human resources and material wealth of the community. Thus in the final analysis of the priorities, motivations and objectives of development must be found in culture. But in the past this has been conspicuously ignored (Federico Mayor, Director-General of Unesco, quoted by Hagg 1991: 2).

Visual art can promote economic development to the detriment of cultural and social development. The need to market visual art for tourism, for example, compromises the quality and authenticity of visual art making. In many ways it reinstates colonial idiosyncrasies, like the repetitious form of production reminiscent of industrialisation. The economic benefit of visual art has also resulted in the initiation of visual art projects and groups in Kayamandi that do not promote community development values. Some of the visual art projects and groups are run like businesses. There is nothing wrong with this if the production of visual art promotes art's creative aspects. However, in order to meet market demands, mass production takes place. Also, community members are not encouraged to participate in the governance of the project; people are dictated to and dependency is created. People are predominantly offered financial rewards. These rewards are beneficial, but social and cultural development are just as necessary for holistic human and community development. In order to use visual art to develop communities and enrich people's lives, it needs to be used according to community development principles, which encourages participation, culturally relativistic development and empowerment.

The benefits of visual art were not accessible to Black South African artists in the past. Very little, if any, art education took place in the schools and Black artists were not allowed to attend formal institutions like Universities to learn art. Most Black South African artists learnt their skills at community arts centres. Community arts centres strive to make art accessible and available to everyone. Community arts centres emphasis participation from the



community. In many ways community arts is the place where visual art, as a community development tool, is realised. Kayamandi does not have a community arts centre. Many artists have expressed a desire for such a centre and are willing to teach their skills to the rest of the community. The use of visual art as a developmental tool in Kayamandi currently only affects 0.4% of the community. If Kayamandi had an arts centre this number could grow rapidly.

This thesis has established the necessity to promote development that is culturally relevant, because Black South African's social and cultural development was previously inhibited. On a practical level, it is impossible to go back and extract the culture and visual art that Black South Africans had before Western society began to amalgamate it, in order to implement culturally relative development. It is also not possible to do the inverse, and extract Western influence. South Africa has and is being Westernised; even more so since the lifting of international sanctions. It will be impossible to try to prevent Western influence on African culture, but this should not be to the detriment of the African culture. Galla explains:

There are inevitable tensions or divisions in the cultural industry when confronted with cultural equity issues. These are often due to the reluctance of the mainstream to change or those in control to share. But the simple truth is that cultural democracy in pluralistic societies is an ideology that can not be swept under the carpet. The preferred future is a broader community that no longer focuses on cultural differences but which reflects the diverse origins of different peoples and their varied cultural inheritances. The principal agenda is diversifying the mainstream (Galla 1995: 31).

Serageldin, explains that the incorporation of the Western and African cultures could be beneficial. He states that it is essential "to have relevant, effective institutions rooted in authenticity and tradition and yet open to modernity and change" (1994: 19). Hagg explains how both cultures can benefit from each other:

From the debate on nationalisation and democracy, it is clear that a new South Africa needs more than economic growth. No equality is possible unless more social coherence is found. This implies partly the development of a new urban culture which has to be a mixture of African and Western values. Western culture could do with a blending with the best of Africa. There is in African culture a greater bias toward spontaneous, artistic, musical and non-verbal forms of self-expression, as evidenced in dance and gestures. On the other hand Africa needs some of the order and efficiency of the West (Hagg 1991: 10).

This process is effective because it does not expect the impossible - to extract Western influence from the development process. It rather encourages involvement from the community, because the community's culture and traditions need to be taken into consideration. This in turn will empower communities to develop.



## **APPENDIX 1**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**



## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Various research methods were implemented. Firstly, six focus groups were conducted, followed by a survey and qualitative interviews. Individuals that practise visual art, artists and visual art groups were interviewed through this process.

### 1. FOCUS GROUPS

The main purpose of the focus groups was to establish people's awareness of visual art practice and to identify artists and visual art groups in Kayamandi. The focus groups were conducted in two sets. The first set consisting of two focus groups, one female and the other male, took place in October 2000. The second set consisting of four unisex groups took place in June 2001. A layout of all six focus groups is presented in *Table 1*.

**Table 1: Representation of Focus Groups**

Focus group description	Abbreviation	Date	Place	Number of men and women present	Zones Presented <sup>1</sup>	Employment status
Men's Focus Group	MFG	05/10/2000	Spaza, Zone A, Kayamandi	7 Men		All unemployed
Women's Focus Group	WFG	12/10/2000	Zone M Kayamandi	7 Woman		All unemployed
Focus group 1	FG1	20/06/2001	C197 Mdala Street, Kayamandi	4 Men 4 Woman	C, K, L, M	All unemployed
Focus group 2	FG2	22/06/2001	J28 Kayamandi	4 Woman 3 Men	F, G, H, I, J, P	One student the rest unemployed
Focus group 3	FG3	25/06/2001	A 57a Kayamandi	5 Men 5 Women	A,B,D,E	One Student, rest unemployed
Focus group 4	FG4	28/06/2001	O 425 Kayamandi	4 Men 3 Women	O,N	All unemployed

#### **Men and Women's Focus Group**

- The women's focus group represented unemployed women between the ages of 22 to 52 (the average age being 37 years), from the formal and informal settlements.
- One woman was born and raised in Kayamandi and another had only been there for a year. The majority had been staying in Kayamandi for an average of 5 years. The

<sup>1</sup> In the men's and women's focus group it was not important what zone they were from and hence this information was not record. However, the focus groups were not held in the same zones.



average amount of years lived in Kayamandi, represented by this group of women, was 12 years<sup>2</sup>.

- Unfortunately, the demographic details of the male focus group was not followed up, except for one respondent that was employed in Cape Town. This respondent owned the Spaza where the focus group was conducted. It is estimated that most of the men were between the ages of 25 and 40.

### ***Focus Groups 1, 2, 3 and 4***

- The focus groups represent those between the ages of 19 and 36, the average age being 25.
- Only 2 people out of the 32 who participated in the focus groups stated that they were students, the rest stated that they were unemployed.
- At least one resident from each zone was present; consequently all zones in Kayamandi were accounted for.
- The least amount of time that respondents had stayed in Kayamandi was 1 year and the longest was 12 years. 5 years was the average amount of time that respondents had stayed in Kayamandi.

## **1.1 METHODOLOGY FOR FOCUS GROUPS**

Although the probes in the first (mens' and womens' focus group) and second (focus groups 1 to 4) set of focus groups are similar, their methodology and outcomes will be discussed separately.

### ***Men's and Women's Focus Groups***

The MFG and WFG were completed in October 2000 in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch. The first focus group took place on the 5<sup>th</sup> October. This group consisted of 7 adult men, while the second group, which met on the 12<sup>th</sup> October, consisted of 7 adult women. The focus groups were gender specific. This was because it was felt that the men would lead the conversation if the groups were mixed, consequently, the women would be less responsive to their presence.

A Xhosa speaking woman was chosen to coordinate the groups. She was asked to gather between 6 and 8 ordinary (rank-and-file) adults of the same sex.

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<sup>2</sup> It was felt that this question was necessary because people's perception on what type of art is being practiced and art productivity could depend on how long they had stayed in the area. Unfortunately, it was not possible to test this in the survey, because only the artists and their households were interviewed.



### ***Focus Groups 1, 2, 3 and 4***

The next set of focus groups took place in June 2001. Kayamandi was divided up into four areas – one focus group per area. The areas were divided according to zones, which Kayamandi is divided into. Some zones are more populated than others, therefore in some focus groups many zones were accounted for and in other groups only two zones contributed. *Table 1*, above, shows the zones that were represented in this set of focus groups.

A Xhosa speaking gentleman, who grew up in Kayamandi gathered the groups together and co-ordinated the discussions. 'Rank and file' adult men and women were interviewed with the intention of keeping the ratio between men and woman consistent<sup>3</sup>.

#### **1.1.1 Probes for Focus Groups**

##### ***Men's and Women's Focus Groups***

Four probes were used:

- 1) Who do you know in Kayamandi that makes art and crafts? (What and for how long?)
- 2) What are the effects on people's lives and on Kayamandi?
- 3) What other art and craft do you think the people could make?
- 4) Is there a difference between art, visual art and craft?

Other questions were also asked with regard to the development of the discussion.

### ***Focus Groups 1, 2, 3 and 4***

Similar probes, to those used in the men's' and women's focus groups, were used in these focus groups.

- 1) Do you know any individual or group of people in your area that makes art?<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The men did not seem to dominate the conversation as was assumed with the first two focus groups (MFG and WFG).

<sup>4</sup> A map of Kayamandi was taken with to each focus group. It was indicated on this map, which area was being referred to. This was done because some people knew artists from other areas that were presented at the focus group, but were not in their zone.

The co-ordinator was given a list of art to use to guide the focus group. If the people did not understand what was implied by art. This list (below) was compiled according to the response of the MFG and WFG, conducted the previous year. It was decided that the co-ordinator would only read the list after the people had responded to the probe. Thus, the list was read to further probe for a response. However, the list of arts was read out shortly after the probe; in some cases (FG2) the list was read as part of the probe. This appeared not to hinder the response. The co-ordinator did not always read directly from the list, therefore not everything on the list was always mentioned.

#### ***List of various forms of Visual Art***

Drawing with various materials like pencil, charcoal, or pastels on paper or other materials.

Sculpturing with clay, and other materials or carving out of wood or other materials.

Printing on various materials like T-shirts or paper, with woodcuts, or various objects.

Painting on various materials like paper, cloth, and walls (murals), using various types of paint.

Other: Bead work, embroidery, furniture, mats, baskets, handbags, shoes, and papermaking.

For commercial purposes: knitting, sewing, baking, table cloths, and cushions.



- 2) Do you know of any Individual or group that used to make art, but does not make it anymore?
- 3) Is there a difference in the type of art people produce now compared to the type of art produced during the previous government?
- 4) Do you think art can develop Kayamandi and its people develop?

### 1.1.2 Procedure

#### ***Men's Focus Group, Women's Focus Group and Focus Groups 1, 2, 3 and 4***

Everyone was welcomed and told who we are and why we had called them together. The coordinator firstly introduced him/herself, then s/he introduced me the rest of the participants, that were not from the community, and why the research was being conducted. Respondents were informed that the meeting was being taped, so that no information was lost. Respondents were asked to speak clearly into the tape recorder. Everyone was asked to fill in their details on the form, except for their names.

In the case of the women's focus group the coordinator introduced all four probes in the beginning of the discussion in order to clarify the purpose of the focus group. This helped to dissolve any misunderstandings that were experienced in the men's focus group. The meetings were each approximately one hour long.

## 2. SURVEY

Based on the findings from the focus groups conducted in Kayamandi, three questionnaires were drawn up. The questionnaires were presented to the artists in face to face interviews. The purpose of the first questionnaire, Questionnaire 1, was to define the type of household in which the artist lived. Information (demographics, employment status, education) about the whole household was collected. The second questionnaire, Questionnaire 2A, was an in-depth questionnaire about the type of art that the artists produced, their markets, expenses, and so forth. This questionnaire was presented to those artists that were presently practicing art. The third questionnaire, Questionnaire 2B, was the same as the second questionnaire, except it was for those artists who no longer made art. Each artist was therefore presented with two questionnaires: Questionnaire 1 and Questionnaire 2A or 2B.

Twenty artists from the focus groups were identified. These are represented in *Table 1*, in Appendix 3. Six of the artists identified in these groups were interviewed. This is because many of these artists made the same visual art product. It was in the interest of the survey to try to interview as many different artists as possible. These artists identified more artists who



were then interviewed. All together 82 artists were counted, of which only 2 no longer practise art.

Twenty-six interviews were conducted, hence a 30% sample of all the artists that were counted in Kayamandi. Twenty-five of the twenty-six interviews were of those that currently make art; one of the twenty-six interviews was of a respondent that no longer makes art. Therefore, 52 questionnaires were used: 26 x Questionnaire 1, 25 x Questionnaire 2A and 1 x Questionnaire 2B.

Each interview was approximately 1 hour long. Because of the personal, face to face, nature of the interview, qualitative data was also collected. The answers documented and analysed in the survey are self-claimed.

**In order to view Questionnaire 1, Questionnaire 2A and Questionnaire 2B refer to Appendix 2.**



## **APPENDIX 2**

### **QUESTIONNAIRE 1, 2A, 2B**



Questionnaire number

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# Questionnaire 1

**Arts Practice in Kayamandi:  
A survey to establish the extent to which art is and has been  
practiced in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch**

**A: QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMATION**

**A1 Interviewer**

--

**A2 Date**

--

**A3 Type of dwelling**

--

**A4 How many dwellings are there on this plot? \_\_\_\_\_**

1. N/A flat

2. N/A not clearly demarcated plot

**A5 How many households are there on this plot? \_\_\_\_\_**

**A6 Are there any back yard structures on this plot?**

1. Yes
2. No



**A6.1 IF YES, are the people living in the backyard structure related to the residents in the main house?**

1. Yes
2. No



**Who lives in this household?**

- Everyone who lives in this dwelling and eats/cooks together.
- Children who attend school in another area and return home for weekends/holidays.
- Students who study elsewhere and return home for weekends/holidays.
- People who work elsewhere and return home on a regular basis and who supports this household financially.
- People who are looking for work elsewhere and who are still dependent on this household.
- People who know each other's details.
- Not people or family who are visiting.

**NOTES:**

- Each person gets a number.
- Respondent is person number 1.
- Indicate head of household with H.
- Indicate respondent with R.

**Draw genogram: Women****Men****Number of members in household:** \_\_\_\_\_



## B: DEMOGRAPHICS

[illegible]



Question Number		B10	B11	B12	B13	B14	B15	
Per-son nr.	Pupil's current school grade?		If no longer in school what is your highest school grade passed?	Did you complete any skills training after school? (1) Yes (2) No	IF YES IN B12, name the field in which you received training? (What skills are you trained in ) (Write in)	IF YES IN B12, name the type of training you received. (Where trained)	Do you earn money in any way, <u>besides art</u> ? (1) Yes (2) No	<b><i>I YES IN B15:</i></b> <b><i>If the respondent earns money by other means except art, <u>then fill in the questions on page 5 (Questions B16 – B21) ; otherwise leave out page 5 and go to Section C</u></i></b>
R1								
R2								
R3								
R4								
R5								
R6								
R7								
R8								
R9								
R10								
R11								
R12								



Question Number	B16	B17	B18	B19	B20	B21
Person nr.	What do you do to earn money?/ What is your occupation? (Write in)	Do you work (1) Full time or (2) Part time?	Do you work in the (1) Formal or (2) Informal sector?	Where/in what area do you work?	What is the name of the company or group that you work for? (Write in )	Approximately how much do you earn per month? (Write in)
R1						
R2						
R3						
R4						
R5						
R6						
R7						
R8						
R9						
R10						
R11						
R12						



**C: ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE**

Question number	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7
<b>Per son nr.</b>	<b>Did or do you take art at school?</b> (1) Yes (2) No	<b>IF YES IN C1:</b> Until what grade did/do pupils and adults take art at school?	<b>Are you making art now - apart from school?</b> (1) Yes (2) No →	<b>IF NO AT C3, did you make art in the past - apart from school?</b> (1) Yes → (2) No	<b>IF YES AT C4, did you make art</b> (1) 1-10 years ago or (2) 11-20 years ago →	<b>IF 11-20 YEARS:</b> Please state <b>WHAT</b> you made. (Write in)	<b>IF 11-20 YEARS:</b> Please state <b>WHEN</b> you made this art. (Write in)
R1							
R2							
R3							
R4							
R5							
R6							
R7							
R8							
R9							
R10							
R11							
R12							

▼  
If Yes, fill in Questionnaire 2a

▼  
IF (1.), Fill in Questionnaire 2b



DETAILS FOR NEXT QUESTIONNAIRE (for interviewers use)

*These details are required so that interviewer can link this questionnaire to Questionnaire 2a or 2b and in order to relocate the respondent(s) who needs to be interviewed for these Questionnaires.*

a) Respondent number:

b) Is the respondent to be interviewed in Question 2a or 2b the same as the person interviewed for this questionnaire?

1. Yes

2. No

c) Respondents name: \_\_\_\_\_

d) Respondent address: *(Only necessary if interviewer has to return to interview respondent).*

*Take down the address to which you need to return to interview the respondent – this should be the address that you are currently situated at:*

f) Which Questionnaire is the respondent going to fill in? (Please tick)

Questionnaire 2a ☐

Questionnaire 2b ☐

a) Respondent number:

b) Is the respondent to be interviewed in Question 2a or 2b the same as the person interviewed for this questionnaire?

1. Yes

2. No

c) Respondents name: \_\_\_\_\_

d) Respondent address: *(Only necessary if interviewer has to return to interview respondent).*

*Take down the address to which you need to return to interview the respondent – this should be the address that you are currently situated at:*

f) Which Questionnaire is the respondent going to fill in? (Please tick)

Questionnaire 2a ☐

Questionnaire 2b ☐



Questionnaire number

--	--	--	--

Questionnaire number from Questionnaire 1

--	--	--	--

Respondent Number from Questionnaire 1

--	--

**Questionnaire 2A**

**FOR THOSE WHO ARE CURRENTLY MAKING ART**

**Arts Practice in Kayamandi:  
A survey to establish the extent to which art is and has been  
practiced in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch**

**A: QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMATION**

**A1 Interviewer**

--

**A2 Date**

--



**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE**

**A1. a) What art do you mostly make?** \_\_\_\_\_

**b) Are you able to make anything else?**

1. Yes

2. No



**c) IF YES, what?** \_\_\_\_\_

**A2. For how long have you been making art? (1a)** \_\_\_\_\_

**A3. How did you learn to make the art product?**

- 1) Self taught
- 2) Someone taught you
- 3) Apprenticeship
- 4) Short course (state what course)
- 5) Tertiary institution
- 6) School
- 7) School and Tertiary institution
- 8) Apprenticeship and Short Course
- 9) Someone Taught you and you did a Short Course

**A3a. If chosen option A3.5, What type institution did you learn to make art at?**

- 1) College
- 2) University
- 3) Technikon
- 4) Special School

**A4. Where {in what area(s)} did you learn to make the art product?**

- 1) Kayamandi
- 2) Other Stellenbosch
- 3) Cape Town
- 4) Other Western Cape
- 5) Eastern Cape
- 6) Kayamandi and Eastern Cape
- 7) Stellenbosch and Eastern Cape



**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE (CONTINUED)****A5. Where do you make your art product?**


- 1) At home
- 2) At the institution where you learnt to make the art product
- 3) In someone else's home
- 4) In a factory
- 5) In a public building or hall
- 6) At home and at an institution that teachers art
- 7) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**A6. In what area do you make your art product?**

- 1) Kayamandi
- 2) Other Stellenbosch
- 3) Cape Town
- 4) Other Western Cape
- 5) Eastern Cape
- 6) Kayamandi and other areas in Western Cape
- 7) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**A7. a) Do you have to pay anything for the space that you use to make your art product?**

1. Yes
2. No



b) If YES, Please state how much per month. \_\_\_\_\_

***Read*****A8. When you make art do you...**

- 1) Work alone.
- 2) With a group.
- 3) Work with a group on a particular art project.  
(For example like the Kayamandi mural painted by the schools)
- 4) Alone and with a group

**A9. If you chose options 2), 3), or 4) from Question 8, please specify (give name).**

- 1) 2 people working with respondent at home
- 2) More than 2 people working with respondent at home
- 3) More than 2 people working in a building other than home

**A10. How did you get involved or get started with making art?**

- 1) Someone asked you to make the product.
- 2) You decided to make it yourself.
- 3) You heard about it from a group of people or person.
- 4) Parent made it and taught you how to make it.
- 5) Part of tradition



**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE (CONTINUED)****A11. What do you do with the product when it is finished:**

- 1) Do you try to sell it
- 2) Do you give it to friends
- 3) Do you give it to family
- 4) Sell and give away
- 5) Give away
- 6) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**(If chosen option a) and d) of Question 11, please fill in SALE OF PRODUCT on next page)**

**A12. Why do you make art?**

- 1) You like to make art more than any other work
- 2) It is fun
- 3) You don't have a choice; you cannot find work anywhere else
- 4) You are not earning enough money in your current job.
- 5) You were not earning enough money in your previous job.
- 6) You cannot do anything else; art is all you are trained to do
- 7) Want to make money
- 8) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**A13. Why did you decide to make this particular product rather than other art products?**

- 1) Is it because the materials and equipment are easily accessible
- 2) Is it because the materials and equipment are inexpensive
- 3) You make more money with this product than with others
- 4) Someone told you to make it
- 5) It is the only product you know how to make
- 6) You like to make it more than other products
- 7) The materials are easily accessible and it is the only product you know how to make
- 8) It was the easiest to learn.



**SALE OF PRODUCT**

*Only answer questions 14 -20, if the product that the respondent makes is for sale.  
(Option 11a and d)*

**A14. Do people buy your product?**

1. Yes
2. No

**A15. What kinds of people buy your product?**

- 1) Tourists
- 2) Foreigners that order from overseas
- 3) South Africans (All races)
- 4) Friends and family
- 5) Kayamandi
- 6) South Africans and Tourists (Foreigners)

**A16. Where do you sell your product?**

- 1) Gallery
- 2) Shop
- 3) Spaza
- 4) Shebeen
- 5) From home
- 6) From Shop and home
- 7) Market (Flea)
- 8) Market (Flea) and organisation's home/building

**A17. In what area do you sell your product?**

- 1) Kayamandi
- 2) Other Stellenbosch
- 3) Cape Town
- 4) Other Western Cape
- 5) Eastern Cape
- 6) Kayamandi and Stellenbosch
- 7) Kayamandi and Other Western Cape
- 8) Other Stellenbosch and Somerset West
- 9)

**A18. How much do you sell this product for?** \_\_\_\_\_

**A19. How much do you earn per month from selling this product?** \_\_\_\_\_

**A20. Could you sustain your family on the earnings from selling this product?**

1. Yes
2. No




**WORK WHILE MAKING ART**

*This section refers to work (which is any means by which the respondent earns money) WHILE making art.*

**A21. Do you do anything else besides making art?**

1. Yes
2. No




**A22. If YES, what else do you do besides making art?**

- 1) Work (Any means by which you earn money)  
2) House Wife  
3) Study  
4) Attend school  
5) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

*If respondent works, while making art (Option 22 a) then complete Questions 23 and 24.*

**A23. Did you have this work before you decided to make art?**

1. Yes
2. No



Don't fill in Questions 26 to 31

**A24. Have you had the same work since you started making art?**

1. Yes
2. No

(For coding: find details of part time employment in Questionnaire 1 B13-B18)



**WORK BEFORE MAKING ART**

*This section refers to any work (any means by which respondent earned money) that the respondent may have had BEFORE they started making art.*

**A25. What did you do before you decided to make art?**

- 1) Nothing
- 2) Retired
- 3) Student/Scholar
- 4) Work (Any means by which you earned money)
- 5) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

▼ *Only complete questions 26-31 if: • Respondent chose option 25 d; • Respondent answered NO for question 23; • Respondent stopped doing this particular work when s/he started making art.*

**A26. What was your work before you started making art?** \_\_\_\_\_**A27. Did you work in the formal or informal sector?**

- 1) Formal (*registered, papers, licensed, officially affiliated*)
- 2) Informal (*not registered, no papers, not licensed, not officially affiliated*).

**A28. Did you work full time or part time?**

- 1) Full time (*A full day or a full night, 5 times a week.*)
- 2) Part time (*Part of the full time*).

**A29. How much did you earn per month?** \_\_\_\_\_**A30. Where did you work?**

- 1) Kayamandi
- 2) Other Stellenbosch
- 3) Cape Town
- 4) Other Western Cape
- 5) Eastern Cape
- 6) General Western Cape
- 7) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**A31. What were your reasons for leaving this job and making art?**

- 1) Not earning enough money
- 2) You were fired
- 3) You were retrenched
- 4) Transport to this job too difficult
- 5) You need to stay at home and therefore need work that you could do at home
- 6) You want to do something creative
- 7) You want to work for yourself
- 8) Retired
- 9) End of contract, season, project
- 10) Fell Pregnant
- 11) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_



**AVAILABILITY**

**A32. Under what circumstances would you be prepared to teach other people your skill in making this product?**

- 1) None.
- 2) Any.
- 3) Will not mind to teach without being paid.
- 4) If you get paid a salary.
- 5) If you have the time available.
- 6) In exchange for being provided with a space in which to make your art product.
- 7) You are prepared to teach your art skill in exchange for being taught new art skills.
- 8) If get paid, have time, have space, taught other skills.
- 9) If provided with a space and are taught other skills.
- 10) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**A33. Under what circumstances would you like to work with other people who make art?**

- 1) None
- 2) Any
- 3) Only if others make the same product as you do?
- 4) Only if they are all from Kayamandi?
- 5) If people are not difficult to work with.
- 6) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**A34. Under what circumstances would you be willing to work in a community art building in which you could make your art product?**

- 1) None.
- 2) Any.
- 3) If you can work alone, without sharing with others?
- 4) If you don't have to pay for the space?
- 5) If all your art materials are supplied for free?
- 6) If the building is in Kayamandi?
- 7) If the building is in Stellenbosch?
- 8) If you don't have to pay for the space and the building is in Kayamandi?
- 9) If your products are marketed for you
- 10) If you don't have to pay for the space, the building in Kayamandi has security or the building is in Stellenbosch.
- 11) If you can work alone and the building is in Stellenbosch

**A35. Would you be interested in helping to organize an art building in Kayamandi?**

1. Yes
--------

2. No
-------

**A36. Would you like to be trained in other art skills and business management?**

1. Yes
--------

2. No
-------





**A37. If YES, please state why?**

- 1) Need more experience and knowledge
- 2) Need to learn how to manage business
- 3) Would like to learn about different art
- 4) All of the above
- 5) Other \_\_\_\_\_

**ART VERSUS CRAFT**

*Answer the following questions if interviewee is not the same person as the respondent interviewed in Questionnaire 1.*

**A38. Do you think there is a difference between “Art” and “Craft”?**

1. Yes
2. No

**A39. Give reason(s) for the above answer?**

- 1) They are the same because you use your hands for both.
- 2) They are all art
- 3) They are different because you must concentrate for one and not for the other.
- 4) They are different because the one takes longer than the other to produce and therefore has higher quality.
- 5) They are different because some require the use of a machine.
- 6) They are different, because you use different materials
- 7) They are different, because different items are being made.

**ART AND DEVELOPMENT****A40. Do you think art can develop Kayamandi in any of the following ways?**

- 1) By helping to keep the community clean
- 2) By fighting crime
- 3) By creating jobs
- 4) By developing skills
- 5) By giving people hope and encouragement
- 6) By giving people self-respect
- 7) By giving people the opportunity to start their own business
- 8) Making art in Kayamandi will encourage tourism
- 9) All of the above
- 10) All of the above except cleaning Kayamandi
- 11) All of the above except preventing crime
- 12) It can only clean community, create jobs, self-respect and tourism
- 13) It can only clean community, prevent crime, create jobs, self-respect and tourism
- 14) All of the above except developing skills
- 15) Other \_\_\_\_\_



*Only answer the following question if the artist has been producing art for more than 5 years*

<b>1. Yes</b>
<b>2. No</b>



- 1) Freedom to sell work anywhere.
- 2) Borrow money to start business
- 3) Can go and purchase materials
- 4) Government does not remove your materials and equipment.
- 5) Allowed to make anything now.
- 6) Free to ask own price for work, previously used to price work for you.
- 7) No need for a permit to practice art
- 8) Things are worse

**A43. Name and Surname:** \_\_\_\_\_

**44. Residential Address:**

<b>Postal Code</b>				
--------------------	--	--	--	--

**45. Postal Address:** \_\_\_\_\_

<b>Postal Code</b>				
--------------------	--	--	--	--

**46.a) Telephone number (Home):**

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

**b) Telephone number (Work):**

<b>c) Mobile:</b>							
-------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--



47. DO YOU KNOW ANYONE ELSE IN KAYAMANDI THAT MAKES ART OR USE TO MAKE ART?

1. Yes
2. No



48. If YES, Please give their details:

Person 1: Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Type of art? \_\_\_\_\_

Past	Present
------	---------

Person 2: Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Type of art? \_\_\_\_\_

Past	Present
------	---------

Person 3: Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Type of art? \_\_\_\_\_

Past	Present
------	---------



Questionnaire number

--	--	--	--

Questionnaire number from Questionnaire 1

--	--	--	--

Respondent Number from Questionnaire 1

--	--

**Questionnaire 2B**

**FOR THOSE WHO MADE ART IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS, BUT ARE NOT CURRENTLY MAKING ART**

**Arts Practice in Kayamandi:  
A survey to establish the extent to which art is and has been practiced in Kayamandi, Stellenbosch**

**A: QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMATION**

**A1 Interviewer**

--

**A2 Date**

--



**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE**

*In this section the respondent will have to think back to his experience WHILE making art.*

**1. a) What art did you last make?** \_\_\_\_\_

**b) Are you able to make anything else?**

1. Yes

2. No



**c) IF YES, what?** \_\_\_\_\_

**2. How long did you make this art, (mentioned in 1a)?** \_\_\_\_\_

**3. How did you learn to make the art product?**

- a) Self taught
- b) Someone taught you
- c) Apprenticeship
- d) Short course (state what course) \_\_\_\_\_
- e) Through an institution like a
  - e.1) College (state name and what course) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e.2) University (state name and what course) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e.3) Technikon (state name and what course) \_\_\_\_\_
  - e.4) Other (state name and what course) \_\_\_\_\_
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**4. Where (in what area) did you learn to make the art product?**

- a) Kayamandi
- b) Other Stellenbosch
- c) Cape Town
- d) Other Western Cape
- e) Eastern Cape
- f) Other (state where) \_\_\_\_\_

**5. Where did you make your art product?**

- a) At home
- b) At the institution where you learnt to make the art product
- c) In someone else's home
- d) In a factory
- e) In a public building or hall
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_




**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE (CONTINUED)****6. In what area did you make your art product?**

- a) Kayamandi
- b) Other Stellenbosch
- c) Cape Town
- d) Other Western Cape
- e) Eastern Cape
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**7. a) Do you have to pay anything for the space that you use to make your art product?**

1. Yes
2. No



**b) IF YES, Please state how much per month.** \_\_\_\_\_

***Read*****8. When you made art did you...**

- a) Work alone?
- b) Work with a group?
- c) Work with a group on a particular art project?  
(For example like the Kayamandi mural painted by the schools)
- d) Other?

**9. If you chose options b), c), or d) from Question 8; please specify (give name).**

- b)** \_\_\_\_\_
- c)** \_\_\_\_\_
- d)** \_\_\_\_\_

**10. How did you get involved or get started with making art?**

- a) Someone ask you to make the product.
- b) You decide to make it yourself.
- c) You heard about it from a group of people/or person.
- d) Other? (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_



**ARTISTIC EXPERIENCE (CONTINUED)****11. What did you do with the product when it was finished?**

- a) You tried to sell it?
- b) You gave it to your friends?
- c) You gave it to your family?
- d) All of the above?
- e) Other? (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**(If chosen option a) and d), please fill in SALE OF PRODUCT on the next page)**

**12. Why did you make art?**

- a) You liked to make art more than any other work?
- b) It was fun?
- c) You didn't have a choice; you could not find work anywhere else?
- d) You were not earning enough money in your previous job.
- e) You could not do anything else; art was all you were trained to do?
- f) Other? (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**13. Why did you make this particular product?**

- a) Is it because the materials and equipment were easily accessible?
- b) Is it because the materials and equipment are inexpensive?
- c) You made more money with this product than with others?
- d) Someone told you to make it?
- e) It was the only product you knew how to make?
- f) It was your favourite?
- g) People bought this product more than other products?
- h) Other? (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_



**SALE OF PRODUCT**

*Only answer questions 14 - 20, if the product that the respondent made was for sale.  
(Option 11a and d)*

**14. Did people buy your product?**

1. Yes
--------

2. No
-------

**15. What kinds of people bought your product?**

- a) Tourists
- b) Foreigners that order from overseas.
- c) South Africans
- d) Friends and family.
- e) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**16. Where did you sell your product?**

- a) Gallery
- b) Shop
- c) Spaza
- d) Shebeen
- e) From home
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**17. In what area did you sell your product?**

- a) Kayamandi
- b) Other Stellenbosch
- c) Cape Town
- d) Other Western Cape
- e) Eastern Cape
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**18. How much did you sell this product for? \_\_\_\_\_****19. How much did you earn per month from selling this product? \_\_\_\_\_****20. Could you sustain your family on the earnings from selling this product?**

1. Yes
--------

2. No
-------



**WHY NOT MAKE ART?****21. Please state why you stopped making art?**

- a) Not making enough money.
- b) Too expensive to buy the materials.
- c) Unable to find a place to make your art.
- d) Unable to continue to work in the place where you were making art.
- e) Didn't like making the art product.
- f) No more time.
- g) No market for your product (no one was buying it).
- h) If you were working with a project – it's because the project stopped?
- i) If you were working with a group – it's because the group dissolved?
- j) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**22. Under what circumstance would you consider making art again, if at all?**


- a) If you could make more money than what you are now?
- b) If you could make a different product?
- c) If you had a space in which to make the product?
- d) If someone could give you the necessary materials?
- e) If you had more time available?
- f) If you enjoyed making art?
- g) If you knew how to market your product.
- h) None at all
- i) Other (please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**WORK WHILE MAKING ART**

*This section refers to any work (which is any means by which the respondent makes money) that the respondent may have had WHILE making art as well.*

**23. Do you do anything else besides make art?**

1. Yes
2. No


**24. IF YES AT QUESTION 21, what else do you do, beside art?**

- a) Work (Any means by which you earn money)
- b) House Wife
- c) Study
- d) Attend school
- e) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_



**WORK WHILE MAKING ART(CONTINUED)**

*If the respondent worked while making art, (Option 24a), please complete Questions 25 – 31*

**25. What kind of work did you do?**

---

**26. Did you work part time or full time,?**

- a) Full time (*A full day or a full night, 5 times a week.*)
- b) Part time (*Part of a the full time.*)

**27. Did you work in the formal or informal sector?**

- a) Formal (*registered, papers, licensed, officially affiliated*)
- b) Informal (*not registered, any papers, licensed, not officially affiliated*).

**28. Where did you work?**

- a) Kayamandi
- b) Other Stellenbosch
- c) Cape Town
- d) Other Western Cape
- e) Eastern Cape
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**29. How much did you earn per month in your work?**

---

**30. Did you have this work before you decided to make art?**

1. Yes
2. No

→ Do not fill in Questions 33-38

**31. Have you had the same work since you stopped making art**

1. Yes
2. No



**WORK BEFORE MAKING ART**

*This section refers to work (which is any means by which the respondent makes money) that the respondent may have had BEFORE they started making art.*

**32. What did you do before you decided to make art?**

- a) Nothing
- b) Retired
- c) Student/Scholar
- d) Work (Any means by which you earned money)
- e) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

▼ *Only complete this section if: • Respondent chose option 32 d; • Respondent answered NO for question 30; • Respondent stopped doing this particular work when s/he started making art.*

**33. What was your work before you started to make art? \_\_\_\_\_**

\_\_\_\_\_

**34. Did you work in the formal or informal sector?**

- a) Formal (*registered, papers, licensed, officially affiliated*)
- b) Informal (*not registered, any papers, not licensed, not officially affiliated*).

**35. Did you work full time or part time?**

- a) Full time (*A full day or a full night, 5 times a week.*)
- b) Part time (*Part of the full time.*)

**36. How much did you earn per month? \_\_\_\_\_****37. Where did you work?**

- a) Kayamandi
- b) Other Stellenbosch
- c) Cape Town
- d) Other Western Cape
- e) Eastern Cape
- f) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**38. What were your reasons for leaving this job and making art?**

- a) Not earning enough money
- b) You were fired.
- c) You were retrenched.
- d) Transport to this job was too difficult.
- e) You needed to stay at home and therefore needed work that you could do at home.
- f) You want to do something creative.
- g) You want to work for yourself.
- h) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_



**AVAILABILITY**

**39. Under what circumstances would you be prepared to teach other people your skill in making this product?**

- a) None
- b) Any
- c) Will not mind to teach without being paid
- d) If you get paid a salary
- e) If you have the time available
- f) In exchange for being provided with a space in which to make your art product
- g) You are prepared to teach your art skill in exchange for being taught new art skills
- h) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**40. Under what circumstances would you like to work with other people who make art?**

- a) None
- b) Any
- c) If others make the same product as you do?
- d) If they are all from Kayamandi?
- e) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**41. Under what circumstances would you be willing to work in a community art building in which you could make your art product?**

- a) None.
- b) Any.
- c) If you can work alone, without sharing with others?
- d) If you don't have to pay for the space?
- e) If all your art materials are supplied for free?
- f) If the building is in Kayamandi?
- g) If the building is in Stellenbosch?
- h) Other (Please state) \_\_\_\_\_

**42. Would you be interested in helping to organize an art building in Kayamandi?**

1. Yes
--------

2. No
-------

**43. Would you like to be trained in other art skills and business management?**

1. Yes
--------

2. No
-------



**44. IF YES, please state why?** \_\_\_\_\_



**ART VERSUS CRAFT**

*Answer the following questions if interviewee is not the same person as the respondent interviewed in Questionnaire 1.*

**45. Do you think there is a difference between “Art” and “Craft”?**

1. Yes

2. No

**46. Give reason(s) for the above answer** \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**ART AND DEVELOPMENT**

**47. Do you think art can develop Kayamandi in any of the following ways?**

- a) By helping to keep the community clean
- b) By fighting crime
- c) By creating jobs
- d) By developing skills
- e) By giving people hope and encouragement
- f) By giving people self-respect
- g) By giving people the opportunity to start their own business
- h) Making art in Kayamandi will encourage tourism
- i) Other: \_\_\_\_\_



## ART AND APARTHEID

***Only answer the following question if applicable***

**48. Is there a difference in the type of art that you made under the new government compared to when you made art under the old government?**

<b>1. Yes</b>
<b>2. No</b>



**49. If YES, please state what that difference is.** \_\_\_\_\_

## DEMOGRAPHICS

**50. Name and Surname:** \_\_\_\_\_

**51. Residential Address:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Postal Code**

e			
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**52. Postal Address:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Postal Code**

e			
---	--	--	--

**53. a) Telephone number (Home):**

[illegible]**b) Telephone number (Work):**[illegible]

**c) Mobile:**

[illegible]



54. DO YOU KNOW ANYONE ELSE IN KAYAMANDI THAT MAKES ART OR USE TO MAKE ART?

1. Yes
2. No



55. If YES, Please give their details:

**Person 1: Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Address** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Type of art?** \_\_\_\_\_

Past	Present
------	---------

**Person 2: Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Address** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Type of art?** \_\_\_\_\_

Past	Present
------	---------

**Person 3: Name** \_\_\_\_\_

**Address** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Type of art?** \_\_\_\_\_

Past	Present
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## **APPENDIX 3**

### **TABLE 1, 2, 3, 4**



## TABLES

**Table 1: List of Artists Referred to by Focus Groups**

Focus Group	Name	Address or Contact	Type of Visual Art	How Long
FG1	Mrs. Toyi	C194 Kayamandi Hostel	Curtains	
FG1	Mr. Mapiyose <sup>1</sup>	Zone J, Next to the Clinic, Kayamandi. (double story)	Furniture	
FG1	Nosisa (part of a group/project)	B 89, Swartbooi street, Kayamandi.	Bead work	1 year
FG1	Nongca Stokhwe	Zone O, Kayamandi.	Cultural Mats	
FG2	Maxaba	Zone O, Kayamandi.	Make mats	1 year
FG2	Mzwakhe	J 132, Kayamandi.	Furniture	15 years
FG2	Nonelwa (part of a group)	J 61, Kayamandi.	Sewing (training)	6 months
FG2	N. Gevenga	Next to small business	Sewing	6 months
FG3	Vusumzi	(Contact no 7: Mathemba, Zone B, he knows where Vusumzi stays, but does not have the address.)	Writing	
FG3	Nolulama	Zone J, Kayamandi.	Sewing	7 years
FG3	Victoria	Stays in Blackheath, Mfuleni, but sells her clothing in Kayamandi.	Sewing	10 years
FG3	Nokwanda	Zone I, Kayamandi	Sewing	10 years
FG3	Artist's name unknown	Hostel C 127, Kayamandi. (Contact Rusta at Hostel C 137, who owns fruit and vegetable stall that the artists painted)	Painting on walls and draws (did the painting of the people playing pool on shebeen)	1 year
FG3	Sikholiwe	Zone M, Kayamandi.	Writing and Photo frames	3 years
FG3	Nosakhele	C146, Kayamandi.	Sewing	
FG3	Nonkonzo no 4)	A 57a, Kayamandi.	Painting on cloth (participated in focus group)	
FG4	Malibongwe	Ask P. Phuhwanda N95 to show where artist stays.	Painted the mural at the Primary school	3-6 years
FG4	Nowabeni	Zone N, Kayamandi.	Furniture	5 years
FG4	Myozo	Zone J (Double- story next to the clinic)	Furniture	8 years
FG4	Tolo	Zone O (near 205)	Furniture	9 years

<sup>1</sup> It appears as if FG1 and FG4 have mentioned the same artist that produces furniture. FG1 mentioned the artist's first name, while FG4 mentioned the artist's last name, so it is unclear whether they are the same artist or whether there are two artists working on the same premises, therefore both references have been documented.



**Table 2: List of Artists Collected from Kayamandi Residents through Focus Groups and Artists**

Name	Address or Contact	Type of Visual Art	Referred By	Interviewed (Questionnaire nos.)
Mrs. Toyi	C 194 Kayamandi Hostel	Sewing	FG1	1A, 2A1
Cynthia Malase	I 40, Zone I, Kayamandi	Sewing	None	1C, 2A3
Nonkymbulelo Gweda <sup>2</sup>	Next to small business	Sewing	FG2	1R, 2A17
Nonelwa (part of a group)	J 61, Zone J Kayamandi.	Sewing (training)	FG2	No
Nolulamo Manyonya	Zone J, Kayamandi.	Sewing	FG3	1F, 2A6
Nokwanda	Zone I, Kayamandi	Sewing	FG3	No
Nosakhele	C 146, Kayamandi.	Sewing	FG3	No
Gloria Mini	Unknown	Sewing	2A1: Mrs. Toyi	No
Julia	Zone I, Kayamandi	Sewing	2A3: Cynthia Malase	No
Nomvula	M 54, Zone M, Kayamandi	Sewing	2A23: Nosisa Swartbooi	No
Mr. Mapiyose	Zone J, Next to the Clinic, Kayamandi. (double story)	Furniture	FG1 and FG4	No <sup>3</sup>
Mzwakhe	J 132, Zone J, Kayamandi.	Furniture	FG2	No
Mbuyisolo Funani <sup>4</sup>	Zone N, Kayamandi.	Furniture	FG4	No
Tolo	Zone O (near 205), Kayamandi	Furniture	FG4	No
Lukass Klass	O 199 Basi Street, Zone O, Kayamandi	Furniture	None	1D, 2A4
Mbuyisolo Funani	N 68, 7 <sup>th</sup> Avenue, Kayamandi	Furniture	None	1G, 2A7
Mvuleni <sup>5</sup>	O 3541 Basi Street, Zone O, Kayamandi	Furniture	Manyathela Mnukwala	No
Vizinto	O 3541 Basi Street, Zone O, Kayamandi	Furniture	Manyathela Mnukwala	No
Cekiso	Area above RDP homes	Furniture	2A3: Cynthia Malase	No
Michael Klaas	Zone O, Kayamandi	Furniture	2A4: Lukass Klaas	No
Nongca Stokhwe	Zone O, Kayamandi.	Reed Mats	FG1	1B, 2A2

<sup>2</sup> FG2 spelt her name as N. Gevenga.

<sup>3</sup> We tried several times to interview Mr Mapiyose, but he was never home. When we did find him at home on the weekend, he declined due to his intoxicated state of mind.

<sup>4</sup> The focus group called Mbuyisolo Funani by his clan name Nocwabeni.

<sup>5</sup> Mvuleni and Vizinto work for Manyathela Mnukwala.



Nodolly Mbulana	N 54, Zone N, Kayamandi	Reed Mats, Brooms, Baskets and Beer Strainers		1P, 2A15
Nobenyazi (Olga) Mbedlashe	A 65, Zone A, Kayamandi	Reed Mats, Brooms, Baskets and Beer Strainers		1N, 2A13
Maxaba	Zone O, Kayamandi.	Reed Mats	FG2	No
Dubbs	Zone J, Kayamandi	Reed Mats	2A2: Nongca Stokhwe	No
Mandlomo	Zone O, Kayamandi	Reed Mats	2A12: Nfezile (Angeleen) Galawe	No
Nfezile (Angeleen) Galawe	O 338, Zone O, Kayamandi	Bead work	2A7: Mbuyisolo Funani	1L, 2A12
Ndileka Masoka	O 331, Zone O, Kayamandi	Bead work	Prochorus group	1U, 2A20
Masoka Nombulele	C 145, Zone C, Kayamandi	Bead work	Prochorus group	1V, 2A21
Zezeka Notshakova	O 316, Zone O, Kayamandi	Bead work	Prochorus group	1W, 2A22
Nosisa Swartbooi	B 89, Swartbooi street, Kayamandi.	Bead work	FG1 and Prochorus group	1X, 2A23
Muriel Nomathembe Mbedleshe	1331 H Flubi Street, Wallaseedene, Kraaifontein	Bead work		1Y, 2A24
Bongiwe Dindili	L 103, Zone L, Kayamandi	Bead work	2A23 Nosisa Swartbooi	1Z, 2A25
Nombi Maposela	C 146, Zone C, Kayamandi	Bead work	2B1: Nontsingiselo (Wendy) Gudla	No
Unknown	Vuka Creativity Centre	Bead work	Vuka	No
Unknown	Vuka Creativity Centre	Bead work	Vuka	No
Unknown	Vuka Creativity Centre	Bead work	Vuka	No
Vusumzi	Unknown	Writing	FG3	No
Jimmy Datini	L 92B, Zone L, Kayamandi	Pottery	2A8: Florian Mokchene	1O, 2A14
Lulama Nobantu Mildred Mwezeni	O 401, Zone O, Kayamandi	Pottery		1Q, 2A16
Xoliswa Pridence (Miemie) Sgonyela	18 New Flats, Kayamandi	Pottery and Fabric Painting	2A14: Jimmy Datini	1S, 2A18
Miriam Mxesibe	D 128 Monde Crescent, Zone D, Kayamandi	Paper Mache Bins and Fabric Painting	2A18: Xoliswa Pridence (Miemie) Sgonyela	1T, 2A19
Sikholiwe	Zone M, Kayamandi.	Frames	FG3	No
Nonkonzo <sup>6</sup>	A 57a, Kayamandi.	Painting on cloth	FG3	No

<sup>6</sup> Nonkonzo participated in focus group 3.



Florian Mokchene <sup>7</sup>	C 150, Hostel, Kayamandi	Painting, Drawing, and Carving	None	1H, 2A8
Mzamo Mqeba	O 379, Zone O, Kayamandi	Painting Drawing and Graphic Design		1J, 2A10
Infundo	Opposite New flats	Painting Drawing	2A10: Mzamo Mqeba	No.
Lindine Phali	O352, Zone O, Kayamandi	Painting and Drawing		1I, 2A9
Mziyanda Ntunze	N 25, 8 <sup>th</sup> Avenue, Zone N, Kayamandi	Painting and Drawing	2A5: Malibongwe Ntunze	No
Malibongwe Ntunze	N 25, 8 <sup>th</sup> Avenue, Zone N, Kayamandi	Painter and Muralist	FG4	1F, 2A5
Soli	Vuka Creativity Centre	Welder	Vuka	No

**Table 3: List of Artists who Made Art in the Past**

Name	Address or Contact	Type of Visual Art	Reffered By	Interviewed (Questionnaire nos.)
Mike	Next to C135, Kayamandi.	Various	FG1	No
Wendy	C 151, Kayamandi.	Bead work	FG3	1M, 2B1

**Table 4: List of Groups of Artists in Kayamandi**

Project/Group Name	Number of Artists	When did the Project/Group Begin	Type of Art Produced
Siyazakha	6 (approximately)	May 2000	Sewing
Masifundi Hemp Bracelets	2	November 2001	Hemp Bracelets
Community Learning Centre's Arts and Culture Association	20 (approximately)	1999	Sewing, Bead work, Pottery and Textile paint.
Prochorus: Themba Labantu	4	January 2000	Bead work
Vuka Creativity Centre	5	January 2001	Bead work and Pottery

<sup>7</sup> Florian Mokchene participated in the Men's focus group.



ILLUSTRATIONS



Illustration 1.1



Illustration 1.2



Illustration 1.3



Illustration 1.4



Illustration 1.5





Illustration 1.6



Illustration 1.7



Illustration 1.8



Illustration 1.10



Illustration 1.9



Illustration 1.11





Illustration 1.12

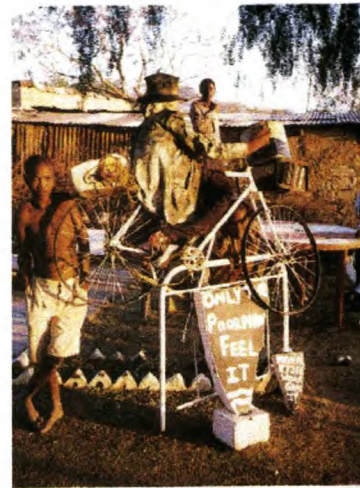


Illustration 1.13



Illustration 1.14



Illustration 1.15



Illustration 1.16



Illustration 1.17





Illustration 1.18



Illustration 1.19



Illustration 1.20



Illustration 1.21



Illustration 3.1





Illustration 3.2



Illustration 3.3



Illustration 5.1



Illustration 5.2

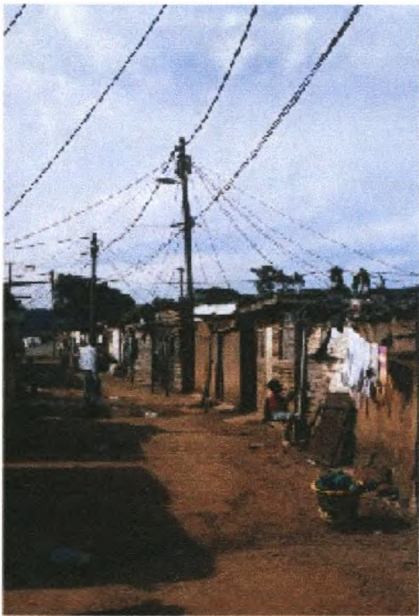


Illustration 5.3



Illustration 5.4





Illustration 5.5



Illustration 5.6



Illustration 5.7



Illustration 5.8



Illustration 5.9



Illustration 5.10





Illustration 5.11



Illustration 5.12



Illustration 5.13



Illustration 5.14



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